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A field study of Cherokee Indians in Eastern Oklahoma revealed the following information: (1) educators were ignorant of and indifferent to the language, values, and cultural traditions of the Tribal (rural) Cherokee; (2) the Tribal Cherokees were an impoverished people; (3) both adults and children were educationally disadvantaged; and (4) Tribal Cherokee parents desired that their children obtain an education, but were critical of the schools for abusing their children. Recommendations included: (1) both English and Cherokee be officially recognized; (2) curricula be developed to teach English as a second language; (3) teachers of Cherokee children learn the language and culture of the Cherokee; and (4) special funds be allocated to study the problems of Cherokee children. An extensive history of the Cherokee Nation is included. (RH)

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FINAL REPORT

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INDIAN EDUCATION IN EASTERN OKLAHOMA

Murray L. Wax

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Lawrence, Kansas 66044

January 1969

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, & WELFARE

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Final Report

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INDIAN EDUCATION IN EASTERN OKLAHOMA
A REPORT OF FIELDWORK AMONG THE CHEROKEE

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PREFACE

To engage in fieldwork is to risk the hazards of cross-cultural misunderstandings and the ire of institutional agencies who prefer that their activities not be exposed to searching view. This project was no exception and, in retrospect, it is a tribute to the KU project staff that so much was accomplished in the face of so many obstacles and hostilities. The officially recognized government of the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma viewed our project with suspicion and together with associated local agencies engaged in tactics that were calculated to frustrate our efforts to gather data and to drive us speedily from the area. Following the lead of that official government, the Muskogee Area Office of the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs refused to cooperate in such basic research ventures as surveying the population of Tribal Cherokee. Since the official government is a self-perpetuating appointive oligarchy of great wealth and political power, and since its claim to represent the Cherokees was then being threatened among some of the local communities of Tribal Cherokees by a nationalistic movement, its response to our project was not surprising; but regardless of its motivations, it was able to render the conduct of conventional research -- such as sample surveys -- extremely difficult.

The Carnegie Cross-cultural Educational Project of the University of Chicago had been operating in the area for several years, and we had hoped both to cooperate with them in matters of research as well as to observe the consequences of their programs for assisting the Tribal Cherokee by (a) spreading the knowledge of the syllabary and (b) using this as a medium whereby to bring to these people more information about the larger society. But the CCCEP emphasis upon the tribal language and upon assisting the impoverished and exploited Tribal Cherokee had brought them into close touch with the nationalistic movement mentioned above. And, given the opposition from the Tribal Government, the BIA, and the local and state governments to that movement, the CCCEP staff soon found themselves in an extremely delicate position; in effect, they had brought the Tribal Cherokee improved means of communication, and the local leaders had responded by using these to reorganize traditional secret societies in an effort to regain their lost rights. While the Cherokee Establishment thereupon came to denounce the Carnegie Project for agitating among the Tribal Cherokee and to denounce the KU project for conspiring with the Carnegie, in fact relationships between the two projects grew very difficult, presumably because the Carnegie staff feared that we would become privy to confidential knowledge about the organizational plans and plots of the Tribal Cherokee.

In accord with our usual policy of hiring Indians whenever we could for our research among Indians, we had hired not only our former associate, Robert V. Dumont, Jr., but also Clyde Warrior, as well as such part-time staff as Kathryn RedCorn, Della Warrior, Lucille Proctor, and Elsie Willingham. The atmosphere of factionalism, suspicion, and hostility proved especially hard on these persons. Seeing the outrages daily perpetrated upon the Tribal Cherokees, Warrior and his friends could scarcely be restrained from directing their efforts toward assault upon the offending parties rather than peaceable and patient studies of the situation of the Cherokee children in school. Meanwhile those assistants who did devote themselves to research as directed by ourselves found that their every move was subject to questioning, harassment and challenge by local authorities. Dumont responded with poise and wit, but other members of the staff (Indian and White) found the situation extremely difficult and coped with it less well.

During the summer of 1965, Dr. Mildred Dickeman had worked as a volunteer with CORE in Louisiana. She had undertaken to work with our project because her interest had been aroused in the plight of American Indians. Following basic ethnographic procedures, she settled among a small isolated community of Tribal Cherokees and devoted herself to becoming acquainted with them and to observing their children in the small local school (then two rooms in size). Very quickly she found that the situation of Tribal Cherokee in northeastern Oklahoma was not dissimilar to that of Negroes in Louisiana, while, when local authorities learned that she had worked with CORE, they denounced her in the same terms as the conservative Whites of the Deep South: as an outside agitator come to stir up trouble among the Indians (Niggers). As a professional anthropologist, Dickeman had agreed before joining the KU project that its goal could only be that of researching and publishing and that a research investigation might prove to be of great benefit to the Indian peoples. She maintained that resolve in the face of great provocation, for both the Cherokee Establishment and the nationalistic Tribal Cherokees polarized the world into those for them and against them. Of course, it was no secret where her sympathies lay but she stuck to her professional duties as long as she was allowed to do wo, until she was driven out of the local community.

With the aid of his wife, Susan, Robert Wandruff tried to conduct field research among urban Indians. He had been a graduate student in anthropology at Brandeis University and then at the University of California, Riverside, and he had done some field work among a peasant community in Yugoslavia. In attempting fieldwork among urban Indians he was faced with problems that have baffled previous anthropological researchers, and he also was subjected to some serious personal difficulties. The Wandruffs gathered some interesting and valuable data in Tulsa but left the project without achieving anything in the way of a written analysis. In the summer of 1968, Patrick F. Petit, a graduate student in Sociology at KU, undertook the task of analyzing these data and emerged with the original draft of the Chapter on urban Indians. He also prepared an annotated bibliography on the topic of urban Indians. Doubtless, Petit was not able to utilize effectively all the data gathered by the Wandruffs -- field research is a highly personal enterprise and it is difficult for one student to utilize the materials gathered by another. Nonetheless, the essays of Petit constitute a valuable addition to this report.

In my original outline for this report, I had intended a chapter on the current political and social situation of the Tribal Cherokee -- a chapter that would compliment the one on ecology, economy, and educational achievement. The reader will already have perceived that this topic is an extremely controversial one, and I was loathe to engage in this writing without the most careful preparation. Since the pressures of other duties associated with the project precluded that preparation, and since I wanted nonetheless to complete this report as promptly as I could, I have foregone the writing of that chapter. As a substitute of a different order, I refer the reader to Part 2 of the Hearings before the Special Subcommittee on Indian Education of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare of the U.S. Senate, 90th Congress; February 19, 1968, Twin Oaks, Oklahoma. I especially refer to the documents presented by Mildred Parks Ballenger and the testimonies of herself and Andrew DreadfulWater.

Rosalie H. Wax conducted field research in the Tahlequah area, interviewing Indian mothers, visiting schools, and observing children and classrooms. It was she who perceived at firsthand the fear of the Indian mothers who are economically so dependent on welfare payments and who are terrorized by the thought that welfare workers will take their children.

from them (by branding them in court as unsatisfactory parents). Rosalie played a smaller role in the analysis of the data, inasmuch as she was occupied with other research projects, but she has prepared a long and detailed narration of our fieldwork experience in Oklahoma, and this will be published elsewhere. Kathryn RedCorn brought to our project wit, insight, and an observant eye. It was she who directed our attention to the pattern of relationships between the college men of Northeastern State College and the Cherokee girls of the Tahlequah area in virtue of which it has become known as "squaw valley", and she began to show us by her observations the careers of Cherokee girls as they move from the highschool into liasons that, so they hope, will stabilize as an interethnic marriage.

Finally, among the fieldworkers, I should mention Lucille Proctor and Elsie Willingham who, undeterred by threats whose magnitude can be appreciated only by those who are impoverished members of isolated rural communities, nonetheless persisted in conducting the interviews whose results provide the major empirical basis for several of the crucial chapters of this report.

Several persons acted as consultants to this project, but the most involved and the most helpful was Irwin Deutscher (now at Case Western Reserve). He was an honest critic, who sometimes disagreed with our proclivities for certain research procedures and who also disagreed basically with our orientation toward the status of Indians as a minority in American life. Robert K. Thomas (now at Wayne State University) and Albert Wahrhaftig gave of the results of their own researches upon contemporary Tribal Cherokee communities and upon Cherokee ethnohistory. In particular, Thomas disagrees with the orientation of the chapter in this report on Cherokee history, as he feels that it accepts the bias of the conventional historical accounts, which emphasize the role of the Whites and the Mixedbloods and minimize the extent to which the Fullbloods were thoroughly involved with and responsible for the Cherokee Nation of the 19th century. I can only hope that some day Thomas will present a documented history and analysis issuing from his own perspective. Fred O. Gearing and Everett C. Hughes were also among those consulted.

When the Cherokee Establishment brought sufficient pressures on the Office of Education to precipitate a site visit with threat of cancellation of the project, the then president of the Society for the Study of Social Problems, Melvin M. Tumin (Princeton University), acted as an honest and disinterested party concerned about due process, fair evaluation, and responsible social science.

As Principal Investigator and Project Director, I edited and revised all the essays included as chapters in this report, but I tried not to alter the spirit of the contributions made by the various writers. In the last analysis, the responsibility for this report is solely mine, and, in particular, I wrote the chapters, "Some Cherokee History" and "Ecology, Economy, and Educational Achievement" as well as this preface and the conclusion, and several of the appendices. On the other hand, the basic draft of "The Integrity of the Cherokee Student" is Mildred Dickeman's, that of "The Household Survey" and "The Cherokee School Society and the Intercultural Classroom" are Robert V. Dumont's, and "The Urban School Society that Receives the Indian Migrant" is Patrick F. Petit's.

PART I

THE TRIBAL CHEROKEE OF NORTHEASTERN OKLAHOMA: BACKGROUND

Introductory Note

It was originally intended to have an additional chapter reviewing the political and social system that embraces and engulfs the contemporary Cherokee of Northeastern Oklbhoma. However, the publication of Part 2 of the Hearings before the Special Subcommittee on Indian Education of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare of the U.S. Senate, 90th Congress, first and second sessions, has relieved us of the necessity of including that material in this report. The hearings in question were conducted in Twin Oaks, Oklahoma and presided over by Senators Robert F. Kennedy and Paul J. Fannin. The attention of the reader is especially drawn to the testimony of Mildred Parks Ballenger and to the statement she presented to the Committee as well as to to the testimonies of Andrew DreadfulWater and Hiner DoubleHead.

CHAPTER I. SOME CHEROKEE HISTORY

Early Political History

Structured on the model of a republic and complete with an elective bicameral legislature and a national superior court, a formally organized Cherokee Nation emerged in 1827. The emergence was significant and unusual but not unique: the Seneca of Allegany and Cattaragus organized themselves as a republic in 1848 and a band of Sioux in Minnesota as the Hazelwood Republic in 1856. These attempts to form centralized states testified to the pressures on the Indians: on the one hand, the missionaries urging them toward new conceptions of human nature and new standards of conduct; and, on the other hand, the invading Whites seeking to dislodge the Indians from the lands and resources which they had traditionally been utilizing.

The notion of a centralized state equipped with police powers was foreign to the native tribes of North America. Until the 18th century the Cherokee tribe had been simply a loose association of villages, perhaps forty villages of about 400 persons each, and linked together more by a common culture and language than by any political apparatus. The villages had organized themselves in four structural poses (Gearing 1962), of which three could be classified as white and pertaining to peace, and one as red and pertaining to war. Only within the latter pose and within the context of the war party were command and coercion accepted as Cherokee behavior. Otherwise, within the normal life of of a Cherokee village, the participation of each individual was based on his consent, and therefore the basic process of village decision required discussion until unanimity had been achieved. Those who were leaders within the white system were "beloved men", older persons who had earned the respect of their fellows by being sensitive and considerate of others, by inhibiting the expression of strong words or bad feelings, and by being quiet, modest, and circumspect in their dealings with their fellows.

The European invaders had anticipated a political organization such as they were accustomed to and so they looked for "chiefs", i.e. persons having the executive powers to negotiate treaties and to enforce their provisions. What they found on prolonged observation is manifest in the account of James Adair, an 18th century trader, who wrote that "chiefs could not command but only persuade, and that they did so by 'good-nature and clear reasoning, or colouring things ....'"; or of George Millingen Johnson, a surgeon of the same time period, who wrote, "'Subjection is what they are unacquainted with . . . , there being no such things as coercive power among them'" (cited in Gearing 1962:4). This meant that the tribe as a whole was not a political state in the European sense, where the executive arm could enforce its dictates by means of a military force, but that it was rather a jural community, that is an aggregate of politically independent villages in permanent peaceful coexistence.

As the Europeans established settlements and trading posts along the seacoast, they forced the Cherokee to perform a major reorganization of their social structure. For the Cherokee, as many other tribes, became increasingly dependent upon the traders for supplies of guns and ammunition, both for hunting and to preserve relationships of parity with neighboring Indian tribes. Thus the invaders could seriously damage the Cherokees by imposing a boycott on trade, and, further, if they felt the provocation to be sufficiently serious (as when a Cherokee killed a Whiteman), they could wreak enormous havoc by a punitive raid upon Cherokee villages and their agricultural crops. In response to this necessity to control their relationships with the newcomers, the Cherokee began in 1730 to form what is best termed a "priest-state", in which the villages amalgamated themselves with each other much as did individual Cherokees with each other in order to form a village. Being organized within the white structural pose, so that its actions had to reflect internal consensus and harmony, the priest-state had difficulties in controlling its youthful and aggressive warriors and in responding quickly and shrewdly to the actions of its new neighbors. The Cherokee state began to shift toward a different model and a differnt structural pose, but not sufficiently rapidly, and the tribe was brought to near catastrophe by their participation on the side of the British in the Revolutionary War. The Colonial armies ravaged the Cherokee lands, while in the negotiations for a peace treaty, the British made no provisions for the Indian peoples whom they had once denominated as allies.

The Cherokees had represented an economic partner and military power to be courted, and earlier in the century the British had escorted seven of their "chiefs" on a tour of England and had concluded a "treaty" with them at Whitehall in 1730. Subsequently, in 1776 the Crown sent as its representatives to the Cherokees two Scots, Alexander Cameron and John McDonald, who proceeded to wed native women, establish households, and so contribute to the emergence of a Mixedblood stratum. But, if England (and other European powers) sought a military alliance and trading pact with the Cherokees, the settlers of Georgia and the Carolinas sought their lands, and with each new cession or encroachment, the settlers grew in numbers and strength, while the ecological situation of the Cherokees greww more precarious. As the land was preempted for cultivation, the grazing areas of the game animals were diminished, so that the Indians could no longer rely on the hunt as an assured source of food. The sale of liquor contributed to personal and social disorganization. Poorly nourished and lacking racial immunities to the diseases accompanying the invaders, the Cherokees succumbed in vast numbers to smallpox, measles, cholera, and the like. The smallpox pandemic of 1738-39 may have killed as many as half of the population.

The eighteenth century thus confronted the Cherokee tribe with a series of novel and threatening phenomena, particularly in the political and ecological realm. The Whites who visited and labored among the Cherokee agreed in urging them to centralize and consolidate their political apparatus. That eccentric Scot, Sir Alexander Cuming, marched through the Cherokee county in 1730 and prodded them into selecting "an Emperor", Moytoy, whose "coronation" he then directed. A few years later, another eccentric, Christian Gottlieb Priber, travelling under French auspices, settled among the Cherokee and he, too, urged them to centralize their government, but his efforts were terminated by the British, who imprisoned him. Responding to this advice and to the threatening evironment, the Cherokee did attempt to elaborate and modify traditional instrumentalities, but they were unable to prevent military or pestilential diasters. In this situation, they allowed a new group of people to assume control over Cherokee affairs. This group, or stratum, I shall term the Mixedblood Elite; they derived from the more powerful and wealthy of the Whites who had settled and intermarried among them, and they were augmented and counseled by their parents and by other Whites (traders, agents, missionaries) who lived among the Cherokees but maintained contact with influential groups outside. The formally organized Cherokee republic was their creation, and "though Whites had no voice in the government, all responsible positions had been filled (by election) with mixed bloods" (Starkey 1946:132). The missionaries made this comment early in the history of the republic, but it was to be substantially true for most of the eighty years of its existence.

The acculturation toward White practices and the assumption of political power by the Mixedblood Elite did not occur without grumblings among the traditional folk. When the War of 1812 broke out between Great Britain and the U.S., agents of England and of other powers with stakes in the New World attempted to advance their interests by fanning an Indian revolt. From the Shawnee came a prophet, Tenskwatawa, and a war chief, Tecumseh, who preached a nativistic doctrine of returning to traditional ways and a holy war of Indians united against Whites. The messages struck a responsive chord among the Creek neighbors of the Cherokees, and prophets among the Cherokee arose to endorse the message. The fullblooded chief, Major Ridge, was able to exercise a moderating force and, when the cataclysms prophesied did not manifest themselves, he was able to reverse the flow of opinion and lead a party against the Creeks themselves (Mooney 1900: 87-89). Again, in 1827 when the National Constitution was adopted, a substantial group of Fullbloods was highly disturbed by this and other recent events. WhitePath an influential leader, preached a nativistic creed, including the rejection of the constitution, of Christianity, and of White ways generally, and a return to traditional Cherokee customs. The rebellion soon dwindled away, an outcome which Starkey (1946:104f) attributes to the publishing of the text of the constitution, both in English and in Cherokee, in the columns of The Phoenix.

A Mixedblood Elite

Traditionally the Cherokee had been an egalitarian society with a simple and fundamental division of labor by gender: horticulture and early child-rearing had been the primary responsibility of the women, while the hunt and warfare had been that of the men. Lacking draft animals, the plow, or artificial fertilizers, the women had confined their agricultural efforts to the soft, moist, and annually renewed soils of the riverbottoms. The Whites who settled and intermarried among the Cherokees brought a diversity of new skills, occupations, and ecological adaptations and with these new specializations of labor went also a stratifying of the new, composite society. Although the great majority of newcomers did some farming in the yeoman pattern, they were as well, and primarily, missionaries, traders, millers, smiths, or other artisans. Some, as we shall be noting, introduced Negro slaves and established plantations. Since the land was held in common by the tribe, and since the traditional horticulture was confined to the riverbottoms, there was no obstacle to the fresh employment of the lands. Moreover, the mixture of native and European skills, as would have occurred with intermarriage, must have conduced to an efficient ecological adaptation to the soil, as compared to the destructive rapacity of some of the frontiersman settlers. Mooney (1900;112) presents the following picture:

> In 1819 the whole Cherokee population had been estimated at 15,000, one-third of them being west of the Mississippi. In 1825 a census of the eastern nation showed: native Cherokee, 13,563; white men married into the Nation, 147; white women married into the Nation, 73; negro slaves, 1,277. There were large herds of cattle, horses, hogs, and sheep, with large crops of every staple including cotton, tobacco, and wheat, and some cotton was exported as far as New Orleans. Apple and peach orchards were numerous, butter and cheese were in use to some extent, and both cotton and woolen cloths, especially blankets, were manufactured. Nearly all the merchants were native Cherokee. Mechanical industries flourished, the Nation was out of debt, and the population was

> increasing. Estimating one-third beyond the Mississippi, the total number of Cherokee, exclusive of adopted white citizens and negro slaves, must then have been about 20,000. (Mooney 1900:112).

There is some uncertainty as to what varieties of persons should be included among those whom Mooney simply listed as "native Cherokee". Foreman (1934:360) believes that the Cherokee more than any other Indian tribe had intermarried with whites and he cites the 1809 census of their Indian agent, Return Johnathan Meigs, who gave their population as being 12,395 of whom half were of mixed blood. In its order of magnitude such an estimate would make sense, since it would serve to explain both the widespread presence of European agricultural techniques (orchards, domestic stock, field crops) as well as the quality of the political tensions that wracked the nation after the Removal. On the other hand, it is necessary to be cautious about such estimates, since the differences in style in life would make the Mixedbloods and Whites far more visible than their Fullbloods kin. Finally, we might guess that the depopulations of the 18th century (resulting from pandemics and the malnutrition associated with warfare and the loss of territory) might have left a demographic vacuum into which Whites and Mixedbloods might easily have fitted.

Throughout this manuscript, we shall employ the terms, "Fullblood" and "Mixedblood", written as proper nouns, to refer to social categories, just as is the convention in written English with regards to the terms, "Indian" and "Negro". In parallel fashion we have also treated "White" as a proper noun to be written with an initial uppercase letter. When as occasionally may be the case, we wish to refer to genetic background we will employ the lowercase adjective and speak of a "fullblooded Cherokee". Some fullblooded Cherokees, such as Elias Boudinot, were socially and culturally Mixedblood.

Because of their connections with the White world, their wealth, or their skills and intelligence, some Mixedblood individuals rapidly rose to positions of power and prominence among the Cherokees. Archetypical is the case of John Ross, who was to reign for thirty-four years as Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation. John's father, Daniel, was a Scottish trader who married a daughter of John McDonald (the representative of the British Crown who had himself married a woman, Anne Shorey, who was but a half-blood). John was educated by a White tutor and by a brief period of attendance at an academy in Kingsport, Tennessee. Being but an eighth Indian, he looked wholly White. He served for a time as an apprentice in a store (run by a White), then later established a trading post of his own in (partnership with a kinsman of the Indian agent, Meigs, mentioned above), and later established a plantation (Starkey 1946:218f). "In upper Georgia, on the rich bottom lands along the headwaters of the Coosa and the Savannah, large-scale cultivation of cotton was possible; here real southern plantations, cultivated in part by Negro slaves, began to appear by the end of the [eighteenth] century, and some fine houses were built, for instance the fthe old Ross homestead in Rossville" (Starkey 1946:17). These houses were stocked with imported china, linens, and books.

Leadership in the cultural and politicial affairs of the new Cherokee Nation was provided by the members of these families constituting a Mixedblood Elite. Mooney (1900:83) traces their ancestry:

> The families that have made Cherokee history were nearly all of this mixed descent. The Doughertys, Galpins, and Adairs were from Ireland; the Ross, Vanns, and McIntoshes, like the McGillivrays and Graysons among the Creeks, were of Scottish origin; the Waffords and others were Americans from Carolina or Georgia, and the father of Sequoya was a (Pennsylvania?) German. . . . .. Those of the mixed blood who could afford it usually sent their children away to be educated, while some built schoolhouses upon their own grounds and brought in private teachers from the outside. With the beginning of the present century we find influential mixedbloods in almost every town, and the civilized idea dominated even the national councils.

The influence of these elite families was intensified by their close association with the Protestant missionaries, who entered the country early in the 19th century. While the fact that the missionary recrods (especially the manuscripts of Daniel S. Butrick) provided our best primary source on Cheroke history at that time may serve to exaggerate both the activities of the missionaries and their Mixedblood associates, nonetheless, the political and cultural leadership exercised by this team is quite clear, as is the communality of interests. The missionaries had been allowed to work among the Cherokees on the condition that they established schools, and it is reasonable to infer that the demand for schools was strongest and most knowledgable among the social stratum composed both of intermarried Whites and their Mixedblood descendents. Without formal education, children of White and their Mixedblood parents could rapidly have become indistinguishable from their Fullblood neighbors. Be that as it may, the schools were indeed established, first by the Moravian Brethen, and then by the Congregational and Presbyterian representatives of the American Board of Foreign Missions.

The record also shows that the missionaries rapidly became identified with the wellbeing of the Cherokee people and with the justice of their cause in protecting their homeland from Georgian invasion. The celebrated case in which Supreme Court Justice Marshall found for the Cherokees involved the imprisonment of the missionary Worcester. And it was through missionary assistance that the famous Cherokee Phoenix was issued.

After the Removal

As best as I can infer from the secondary accounts (Mooney, Starkey, etc.), it seems as if there had been a reasonable harmony of interests between the Mixedblood and the Fullblood groups during the early days of the Republic in the Southeast. Via the influence of the missionaries and the elite, Cherokee life was being transformed and the economy was becoming more sophisticated. Horticulture was becoming agriculture and, as it did, the men turned from hunting to farming. Sequoya's invention of the syllabary had made it relatively easy for the mass who were ignorant of English to become literate in their own language and the opportunity was seized by a great many. The missionaries responded to the new audience bt translating and printing the Scriptures, while the nation itself issued a bilingual newspaper. By any standards, these were formidable developments, full of promise.

But those leaders who came most sadly to grief were precisely those who were biologically the most Cherokee but who had moved or been educated into the Mixedblood Elite. "The Ridge" ("One Who Walks on Ridges") was a fullblooded Cherokee who led a warparty of 800 to fight with Jackson in 1814 against the Creeks. He became a prosperous trader and planter at the Head of Coosa and married a mixedblood girl. His son, John, was educated at the school opened by the missionaries at Brainerd and, together with his cousin, Buck Oowatie, was then sent for more advanced education to the mission school at Cornwall, Conn. Buck took the name of his benefactor (Elias Boudinot of New Jersey) and married a prominent Connecticut woman; John also married a White. On their return, both became active in Cherokee affairs, and Boudinot became of great importance as a writer and translator. He helped raised the funds for a Cherokee newspaper, was its first editor, and was the person chosen by the missionary, Samuel Worcester, to perform the translation of the Scriptures into Cherokee. John and Elias were among the best educated and yet biologically most fullblooded of the Cherokee leaders, outranking John Ross on both counts; but, if, as seems apparent they had desires for national leadership, these were frustrated by circumstances and Ross' political shrewdness.

Ridge and Boudinot were in a good position to understand the power and the determination of the Whites who were pushing for the

Removal of the Cherokees; they were perhaps in a pooer position to realize and sympathize with the determination of the Fullbloods not to move from their homeland. They seem to have played the foolhardy role of attempting to be rational and long-visioned about matters of the deepest emotional commitment, so they advocated ceding the land on the best terms that could be gotten, and when they were denied a hearing and the opportunity to present their case through the medium of an election, they negotiated the treaty themselves. The Cherokee resisted the treaty, and until the bitter end refused to cooperate with the removal. The removal was bitter and frightful and resulted in many deaths, and when the people arrived in the West, they were sick, impoverished, and lacking in the means of beginning life anew. Meantime, the agents of the federal government swindled and defrauded as they could. The Cherokee blamed the Treaty Party, and young Ridge, his father, and Boudinot were among those assassinated.

This act of violence symbolized and deepened the basic antagonism that now divied the Cherokee people. The members of the Treaty Party were now fearful of their own lives and at the same time motivated by the spirit of blood revenge. Stand Watie (brother to Elias Boudinot) became the rallying point of a large block of dissidents. The Starr family became a nucleus of raiders scarcely different from bandits. Meanwhile, the pressures on the Nation from external sources grew more severe, as Whites who sought Cherokee land and monies connived at trespass or attempted frauds in government contracts, sales of goods and liquor, or the like.

Writing in 1843, the Indian agent for the Cherokees, Pierce M.

Butler, described the several classes among them (Foreman 1943:363-4):

> There are believe to be about 2,000 professors of the Christian religion, consisting of Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians; the former comprise much the largest class, and may be considered the first class of Cherokees. For intelligence and general integrity, there are about 4,000 others who might be classed among the first. Much the largest class of the Cherokee are half-breeds, or what are known to be middle class, who are ardent, and enterprising, and passionately fond of gaming . . . . There is a small class, termed mountain Indians, who are ignorant, and but slightly progressed in moral and intellectual improvement; have few comforts, and plant barely sufficent for subsistence.

With the approach of the Civil War, the factional divisions among the Cherokee polarized along the same lines as those of the greater society. On the one hand, a pro-slavery faction, enlisting the plantation owners among the Cherokee and therefore much of the Nation's wealth and status, organized under the title of the Knights of the Golden Circle. Stand Watie was their major leader, and they enrolled, not only the descendents of the old Treaty Party, but sufficient others to number six to seven thousand. Meanwhile, among the Fullbloods, there arose a secret society known as the Keetoowah and opposed to slavery. (The name, which might more properly be spelled Kituhwa, signifies something equivalent to "Old Believers".) The organization was encouraged by the efforts of the Baptist missionary, Evan Jones, and he was blamed for having brought it into being; however, anyone knowing the temperament of the Fullbloods would realize that the most he could have done was to facilitate the expression among them of a well developed sentiment already hostile to slavery and the slave-owning class of Mixedbloods.

For some months, Ross, as Principal Chief, tried to maintain neutrality in the war, basing his position on the anti-slavery Fullbloods and those who were indifferent or had no position. However, the Confederate cause was regionally quite powerful, and, in addition, the representatives of their government offered the Cherokees extremely advantageous terms if they committed themselves to their cause. Finally, Ross did commit the Nation to the side of the Confederacy, although there were many persons, such as the missionary, Evan Jones, who felt that Ross was "not a secessionist" but that he could not have done otherwise. Yet, the majority of the Cherokees sympathized with the Union, and, had federal officials acted more swiftly and knowledgably, they might have been able to recruit a local military body that would have inhibited the making of a treaty between the Confederacy and the Nation. It has been estimated that about 10,500 Cherokees were loyal to the Union and that about 2200 enrolled in its armies, while 6500 sided with the Confederacy and a proportionate number in its armies (Wardell 1938: 159-160). Thus, the entry of the Nation into the war unleashed a violent domestic conflict. The Union armies conquered the region, receiving recruits from the local population, while Ross exiled himself into Union hands. But, shortly thereafter, Watie's forces reconquered the region, and the conflict waged erratically back and fort, with devastating consequences. The factionalism within the Nation, augumented by the banditry that characterized the irregulars of both armies, expressed itself in the wanton destruction of houses, orchards, livestock, schools, churches, etc.

> The census of loyal Cherokees made in 1863 showed that the war had taken a heavy toll of life; one third of the adult women were widows and one-fourth of the children were orphans. The situation was worse at the close of the war. The guerilla warfare was devastating and there was no way of preventing it. Neither Federal nor Confederate courts had been able to assume jurisdiction. Even military courts took no cognizance of crime outside the army and even the soldiers who committed crimes upon the public were seldom taken into custody ...... Raiding, plundering, and stealing were carried on by lawless bands and individuals. Three hundred thousand head of cattle had been stolen and sold to contractors and others either in the Nation or in Kansas. Officers in the Federal Army were involved in this nefarious practice. Before the close of the war so little was left in the Nation that it was not profitable for Stand Watie to make a raid...... So bitter was the feeling between the factions that the Southern Cherokees dared not return north of the Arkansas river (Wardell 1938: 175-6).

We might also note that Watie was so bitter and determined that he could not be brought to surrender until June 23, 1865, and so he became the last of the Confederate generals to lay down his arms.

Reconstruction and Rings

Just as in the case of the Revolutionary War (when the Nation sided with the British), so now with the Civil War, the Cherokee suffered worse than the dominant partner of their alliance. During the war itself much of their country had been a continual battlefield, and now at the conference table, and notwithstanding the fact that many Cherokees had devoted themselves to the cause of the Union, the Nation was to be further vicitimized. Those Cherokees who had fought with the Confederacy were prepared for punitive treatment but hoped that, in compensation, they might gain political independence via a division of the Nation into separate but legally recognized states. While their hopes were dashed, they were startled to observe that the delegation of loyal Cherokee were being bullied into acceding to a new cession of lands.

This was the period of American history notorious for the operation of "Indian rings" (Fritz 1963: chap. i). The ring usually involved the active cooperation of three persons: a politician, an agent, and a trader. The politician usually represented the state or territory where the agent was to operate, and he used his influence to secure the appointment of his candidate. Once installed, the agent selected a contractor (trader) willing to share the Indian annuities. Since the Indian tribes were located far from urban centers, so that there were few outsiders to check on the quality and quantity of the merchandise delivered to them as the equivalent for their annuities, and since many Indians were neither fluent in English nor acquainted with the operations of the government, the ring could profitably conduct its operations without hindrance. In addition to the rings organized to swindle the annuities, there were other fradulent activities based on securing lands that had been reserved by treaty, as well as frauds associated with the awarding of contracts for building railroads, as these usually included huge awards of land. Thus, the Cherokees, not yet reunited as a Nation, were rapidly confronted with a fresh series of destructive forces, which jointly were attempting to secure the blessings and assistance of the federal government.

Under the circumstances, it is surprising that the Nation managed to stave off the bid for independence of those who had been associated with the Confederacy and to reunite itself as a political whole. But Fullblood "Pins" and Mixedblood "Knights", ex-Confederate and ex-Union, became somehow allied in a new configuration of political parties. Domestically, there was much rebuilding to be done, and, for example, the National Council early turned its attention to educational needs. In 1867 provision was made for the opening of thirty-two public schools, and by 1877 the number of schools had risen to seventy-five. But a major domestic problem soon proved to be that of the White intruders.

In retrospect, it seems clear that the Nation was handicapped by an inadequate internal source of income (such as might have derived from a stable system of taxation) and, correlatively, by a lack of police power to control its territory. The situation was aggravated first, by the overarching legal authority of the U.S. federal government, which was being inadequately exercised because of insufficient police force as well as, second, by some legal uncertainty concerning the exact legal prescriptions that could be applied to such affairs as the interrelationships of Cherokees and Whites within and without the Nation. Added to the legal and police powers were the formidable pressures to seize or encroach on Cherokee lands that were being transmitted to congressman and the federal government from the areas adjacent to the Nation, so that however the law might have been interpreted, pressures would be continually exercised to alter it toward the side of the intruders. Had the Cherokees shared representation within the federal legislative system, perhaps deriving from their admission -- as some had advocated -- as a separate state into the Union, they might more successfully have defended their cause. As it was, their situation was hopeless.

The divisions of class and caste within the Nation were involved with the problem represented by the White intruders. By Cherokee Law, the land was held in common, with each persons having traditional rights to use the land his family had been occupying and cultivating. By far the largest proportion of the Cherokees were small cultivators, but there were a few who operated on a more ambitious sclae, and the abolition of slavery meant that these enterprisers now had to hire laborers. Since the Cherokees and the freedman had rights to cultivate the land and so were not enthusiastic about serving as hired hands, the laborers were secured from among neighboring Whites. Thus, a considerable part of the problem represented by "intruders" was generated by factions of the Nation itself. Moreover, Whites, once within the Nation, were prone to utilize the opportunity to establish themselves, claiming "squatters rights", and trusting that the Indian territory would eventually be opened to settlement and that, when it was, their preemption of lands would be honored. The Cherokee tried to regulate the importation of labor via the enactment of a permit law, and it is a testimony to the distaste of the majority ofor the presence of the laborers that, at one point, the National Council passed a law requring each laborer to pay a permit fee of $25. per month. But, the enforcing of this law, which in effect amounted to a prohibition of external laborers, proved impossible. The law could not be enforced, for no jury would convict the violators, and the fee was eventually reduced to fifty cents per month. The situation represented a victory for the large employers. Meantime, some of the White men were marrying Cherokee women and so establishing themselves with rights in the Nation.

Licitly or illicitly, with or without the consent of the tribal governments, and with or without the connivance of federal officials, the Whites moved into Indian Territory. In 1880, Captain David L. Payne proposed to place from five to ten thousand settlers on what he referred to as the public lands of Oklahoma. With a party from Kansas, he invaded Oklahoma but was arrested by federal authorities and brought to Fort Smith for trial. The Civilized Tribes rallied to assist in the prosecution, and Payne was found guilty and fined $1,000. but the fine was never paid and even before the decision had been handed down he was back on the Kansas borders organizing another mass entry (Wardell 1938: 302f). In the last decade of the 19th century the number of Whites in the Indian Territory reached a quarter of a million. Bills were considered in Congress to organize Oklahoma as a territorial government, but these were defeated by the lobbying of the Indians, and yet the problem would not disappear. The basic transformations then proceeded, and almost unintentionally, via the expansion of the federal court system. In 1871, a District Court was established at Fort Smith, and it had exclusive and final jurisdiction of crimes committed in Indian Territory, except for those involving Indians dealing with other Indians; in 1885 Congress extended the jurisdiction of the courts to major crimes involving Indians: and subsequent legislation further expanded its jurisdiction. As a consequence, the authority of the Cherokee National government and of its courts was drastically undercut.

While it required the external pressures of the federal government to destroy the Cherokee National government, the truth was that by the nineties its status had already become dubious. The equilibrium between Fullbloods and Mixedbloods had always been tricky to maintain, but basically had been guaranteed by the sheer numerical superiority of the former and their concommitant organizational strength. In order to operate the affairs of the Nation, the leaders, largely Mixedblood, had had to court the favor of the Fullbloods and respond to their needs and wishes. Any Mixedblood with serious polticial aspirations had had to be fluent in speaking Cherokee (although he might, as did John Ross, go through the formality of having someone else translate his formal addresses). According to Thomas (1954: 95-6), this equilibrium collapsed in 1887 when Chief Dennis BushyHead left office. The Fullbloods were now in the minority, and although they had representation in the lower house, their voice in the affairs of the Nation was minor. Few of the Mixedbloods were able to speak Cherokee, and so communication between the two cultural blocs had markedly diminished. The Mixedbloods were marrying among each other or among the Whites, and there was less of the informal intimacy that had been associated with courtship, marriage, and child-rearing.

Thomas argues that the symbol of the dissolution of the equilibrium was the erecting of the marker to Stand Watie in the capital grounds at Tahlequah. The Fullbloods had wanted a marker erected in honor of Sequoyah and resented this testimonial to the leader of the old Treaty Party -- the Confederate General and long time anatagonist to John Ross and to Fullblood ideals. The division between Fullblood and Mixedblood was even visible to such outside observers as the Dawes Commission, who reported in 1894 that "a few able and energetic Indians, nearly all mixed-bloods and adopted white citizens, were dominating the tribal government and monopolizing the best land to the detriment of the fullbloods". The Commission further noted the operations of the National government were distinguished by "'corruption of the grossest kind, openly and unblushingly practiced. . . in every branch'" (cited in Wardell 1938:315).

The pressures for dissolving the tribal governments of the Indian Territory thus were generated from a variety of different directions. Not only were land speculators and railroad enterprisers eager to see the lands thrown open for their activities, but, precisely because of the inabilities of traditional Indians to defend their interests from such predatory types, the various persons and organizations who had identified themselves with the cause of justice for the Indian felt that something had to be done. That pioneer ethnographer, Alice Fletcher, had visited Indian communities and studied their customs and so became acquainted with their misery and degradation under the exploitative pressures of the advancing frontier. She decided that the only way that the Indian would be able to retain his land was if it were alloted and then held in trust (and therefore tax-exempt) by the federal government for some period of years during which the Indian would gradually be introduced into civilization. For, she thought that the Indian must assimilate or be exterminated, and that the path to assimilation lay in the Indian's becoming a family farmer in the EuroAmerican pattern with his own individual plot of ground to cultivate, protect, and transmit to his offspring (Lurie 1966: 48f). In these opinions she was joined by many other reformers who were moved by Christian zeal and the desire to see the Indian dealt with justly so that he too might join the ranks of the civilized and moral (Fritz 1963: chap. ix).

As a consequence of these various forms of agitation and pressure, from reformers, land speculators, frontiersman, etc. a portion of the Indian Territory was translated in 1890 into the Territory of Oklahoma with corresponding rights, including that of forming a legislative body or territorial assembly. Three years later, Congress inaugurated a policy of terminating the tribal existence and government of the Civilized Tribes and alloting their lands in severalty (Cohen 1945: chap xxiii).

The task of negotiating the transition from tribal to state governments and of providing for the equitable allotment of land was entrusted to the Dawes Commission, which derived its name from the Massachusetts Senator who had acted as legislative spokesman for the Indian interest organizations (such as the National Indian Defense Association) which had organized so powerfully among the literate and reformist minded persons of the eastern seaboard. When the Commission began to operate among the Cherokees, it was dealing (according to the Indian Agent), with a population of 34,461, as follows: "Cherokee by blood (including all degrees of admixture), 26,500; intermarried whites, 2,300; negro freedman, 4,000; Delaware, 871; Shawnee, 790. The total acreage of the Nation was 5,031, 351 acres, which, if divided per capita under the provisions of the Curtis bill, after deducting 60,000 acres reserved for town-site and other purposes, would give to each Cherokee citizen 144 acres.... The official rolls included a large number of persons whose claims are disputed by the Cherokee authorities" (Census of 1898 by Indian Agent, D.M. Wisdom, as cited by Mooney 1900: 156-7).

The conservative Fullblood group was deeply suspicious of all proposals emanating from the federal government and strongly suspicious of change. The Mixedblood leadership of the Nation saw that the transformations were inevitable but tended to be unhappy about their nature and pace. The National government managed to stall the activities of the Commission among the Cherokee for several years. Accordingly, in 1898, the federal Congress passed the Curtis Act, which forced allotment and brought official tribal activities to a halt. The Cherokee government had little choice but to enter into realistic negotiations, but the Fullbloods, organized in the Keetoowah Society, were prepared to resist. Wardell (326) notes that "it was suspected that the fullbloods had been given too much poor advice by those who hoped to gain by retaining control of large tracts of land, a monopoly which would be destroyed by allotment". In any case, many Fullbloods refused to apply for enrollment and allotment, and it was necessary for the Commission in 1902 to organize field parties.

Allotment and the Fullbloods

Many of the most significant aspects of traditional Cherokee existence had been disrupted or rendered nugatory by the organizing of the National Government, followed by the Removal, the Civil War, and other such changes and catastrophes. Gone now were such basic organizational instrumentalities of traditional Cherokee life as the clan and the town (cf. Gearing 1962). But the Keetoowah Society, which had emerged during the Civil War, now continued to provide a nexus for Fullblood acitivity, and a new prophet, or chief, now appeared within that society bringing a message of hope to an agitated people. RedBird Smith appealed to traditional Cherokee religious values, emphasizing the white path of peace and harmony and condemning the red path of violence and ill-feelings. The concepts of "The Treaty" with the U. S. and of "Keeping the Peace", despite provocation ,were given an intensely sacred emphasis, and he preached that if the Cherokee could rediscover what they had lost and set themselves upon the true path, then their present difficulties would be resolved (Thomas 1954).

Smith and his followers opposed allotment, but they expressed this opposition in traditional Cherokee fashion by withdrawing from the process. Within traditional Indian communities, collective action could only proceed from unanimity and when that was lacking discussion proceeded until it had emerged. Voting was unnecessary and, had it been introduced, then dissenters would not have voted "Nay", they would simply have abstained. Faced with persons who are rudely trying to implicate him in action with which he does not agree, the Cherokee expresses a civil disagreement by withdrawing from their presence. In the context of Cherokee Fullblood existence, such symbolic behavior is perceived and responded to accordingly. Whites, and outsiders generally, sometimes misinterpret the withdrawal as shyness or fear, but, if there is a fear in the mind of the Cherokee who is withdrawing, it is the unconscious fear that he might injure others and act wrongly in expressing the disagreement and anger which has been provoked within him.

Confronted with the federal demand that their lands be alloted in severalty, the Fullbloods responded predictably by withdrawal. The Commission had to secure a court order, facing the dissidents with a choice of prison while some were enrolled against their will and given allotments not of their choice. While the Fullbloods resisted allotment, many others of dubious lineage struggled to gain a place on the rolls. The largest classes of contested cases involved intermarried Whites and Negro Freedman. Cherokee attorneys appealed to the Secretary of the Interior and to the President and sought injunctions in the courts. In many cases, hearings had to be held, and these sometimes had to rest on the earlier roll made in 1880, which itself was inaccurate.

"According to the terms of the agreement each enrolled citizen was entitled to a homestead equal in value to 40 acres of the average allotable land, inalienable and non-taxable for a period not exceeding twenty-one years, and such other land as would constitute an evaluation of a total of $325.60, inalienable for a period of five years. No individual allotment was to exceed more than 100 acres of average allotable land" (Wardell:326). Clearly, there were many claimants, and there was little land. A very small area of the land, in the northwestern part of the Nation, was valuable because oil fields were there being developed, but otherwise, the nature of the terrain and its resources was not such as to confer much capital upon an allottee.

For the majority of Fullbloods, the process of allotment proved to be a diaster. "Their ownership of individual farms by free simple title subjected them to mortgages, sales, tax liens, long term leases, and other forms of alienation, all completely outside their experience. As citizens they were protected theoretically by laws and courts, which they did not understand and could not use; actually the whole legal system of Eastern Oklahoma was warped to strip them of their property. Misrepresentation, power of attorney, forgery, kidnapping, even murder were employed to obtain their land, or they were placed under guardianship and plundered through the probate courts" (Debo 1951:1). Indians who had been living a reasonably prosperous and self-sufficient existence by frontier standards now sank into landless poverty. Of all the Civilized Tribes, the Cherokee were the hardest hit, so that, as Debo (1951:4) comments, "The whole beautiful region east of the Grand River is one vast slum".

Tribal Government Without Representation

By the end of the 19th century, the assertion of federal control over Cherokee affairs had served to render the National Government almost meaningless. In 1889 T. M. Buffington was elected Principal Chief and is sometimes "spoken of as 'the last chief of the Cherokees' because of the fact that his successor (W.C. Rogers, 1903-1917) never had the power and authority usually exercised by tribal chiefs" (Wardell 1938:348). Rogers continued to enjoy whatever perogatives and perquisities were associated with the office, if for not other reason than that the Nation had officially been dissolved, so that it was difficult to rationalize the holding of further elections. The Congress had transferred to the federal Executive the power of removing the Principal Chief or of declaring that office vacant and filling it by appointment so that when a dissident group of Cherokees did attempt an election and named Frank J. Boudinot as Chief, the Secretary of the Interior was able to squelch his claims by officially recognizing the status of Rogers.

From the time when Rogers resigned until 1941, the Cherokee were without a formally recognized spokesman who might be labelled as "chief" and authorized to represent them for official purposes. On two occassions, when the federal government had affairs to settle that involved the defunct Cherokee Nation, it appointed a "Chief for a day" to execute documents. Then in 1941, the President of the U.S. appointed Jess Bartley Milan to the position of Principal Chief and with the notion that he might represent the Cherokees in their dealings with the federal government. Milan made some effort to elicit popular support and guidance, and he summoned the Cherokee to Tahlequah in order to elect what he called an Executive Committee. This was to consist of one representative from each of the original nine districts of the original Nation, plus a member elected at large, and an additional member, added later, to represent the Texas Cherokee. Few Cherokees heeded the summons or participated in the election, and, since there have been no further elections, the unit of Chief and Executive Committee has come to be a self-perpetuating clique. The official power rests in the hands of the Chief, who alone has the authority to represent the Nation in dealing with the federal government. By law and so in theory, the Chief is a puppet of the federal Executive, inasmuch as he can be dismissed and replaced at the will of the U.S. President, but in practice Milan and his successor, Keeler, have each held long tenures.

The status of Chief became considerably more meaningful when the U.S. Congress in 1946 enacted a law establishing a Claims Commission to which Indians might appeal to be compensated for the frauds committed against them in earlier days by the federal government. Since the Cherokee Nation had been deprived of all of its assets, the Chief had been without financial resources, but now, with the passage of this act, it became possible for the Chief to institute action before the Commission which might result in a substantial payment to the National treasury. Such did prove to be the case under the reign of W.W. Keeler, who had been appointed Chief in 1949 and whose term was indefinitely extended by Executive Order, June 5, 1951.

Keeler was about one-fourth Cherokee by blood and had no ties to the communities of Tribal Cherokee. He was an exceedingly able man, who had already risen to high executive status within the Phillips Petroleum Corp. and would in 1967 become its President. His corporate and general communal responsibilities were heavy, and since, he also elected to play an important role in the general area of Indian affairs (e.g. serving as a member of the Commission on the Rights, Liberties, and Responsibilities of the American Indian, sponsored by the Fund for the Republic Inc, and again on the Task Force appointed by President Kennedy), he had but little time to devote to becoming personally acquainted with Tribal Cherokees or with their problems, so that until 1964, it is likely that most of them would not have known that he was "their" Chief or even that they had a Principal Chief.

Meantime, in 1948, a team of four lawyers had entered into contract with this official tribal government to represent it on a contingent fee basis in suits before the federal government. These men were Early Boyd Pierce of Muskogee, Dennis Bushyhead of Claremore, George Norvell of Tulsa, and Paul Niebel of Washington. (Bushyhead was descended from one of the fullblooded chiefs of the Cherokee Nation). In 1962 they secured an award from the Court of Claims of fifteen million dollars as additional payment for the Cherokee Outlet, which the government had forced the Nation to sell at reduced price in 1893. By this award, knowledge of the existence of a Cherokee Tribal Government was spread far and wide among persons with claims or hopes to be acknowledge as being Cherokee. Since the tribal rolls had formally been closed some fifty years before, compiling an exact list of those eligible to share in the bounty proved a difficult task, but per capita payments were issued in 1964 based on a share of $280. to each enrolled member of the tribe. With the payments fixed at this figure, some two million dollars remained in the Tribal Treasury and was spoken of as "residual funds". The existence of such a considerable sum of money in the financial audit stimulated the rise of criticism. One of the most knowledgable and independent of these critics was Mildred Parks Ballenger. She was raised in the area and married a man who joined the History faculty of Northeastern State College. Since her maternal grandmother had traveled the the Trail of Tears and since her paternal grandfather had been captain in Stand Watie's army during the Civil War, she was eligible for high status positions in contemporary Cherokee (Mixedblood) society, and at Keeler's invitation she served for twelve years as a member of his Executive Committee and for six years as a member of the InterTribal Council of the Five Civilized Tribes. Early in 1966, she resigned from these positions, making known her disagreements in a statement before the Executive Committee and then via the public press.

Later, we shall be reviewing the specific nature of her criticisms; meanwhile, it should be pointed out that there were other challenges to the Tribal Government as being unrepresentative of the Tribal Cherokee. In June 1954 a considerable group of Fullbloods promoted Daniel Foreman of Tulsa as candidate for the chieftaincy and elected him to that position, but they had no way of installing him in office nor of gaining federal recognition for his status. The Area officers of the Bureau of Indian Affairs were able to deny his claims by disputing the validity of any election which they neither sanction or supervised, Foreman was coopted into the system by being given a job, and shortly thereafter he disappeared from the scene. In 1966 and 1967, Andrew DreadfulWater, together with several associates, appeared before the National Congress of American Indians in order to challenge the credential and seating of the official Cherokee delegation. DreadfulWater, a traditional Chief among the Fullbloods, based his case on the disenfranchisement of the Fullblood community, in that they were being represented by a delegation which had, in effect, been appointed by a Principal Chief who was himself an appointee of the federal government. The N.C.A.I. took no action in the matter.

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Robert E. Berkhofer, Jr., *Salvation and the Savage: An Analysis of Protestant Missions and American Indian Response, 1787-1862* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1965), p. 113, citing a letter from C. Kingsbury to S. Worcester, June 30, 1817, ABC 18.3.1.III:9-10.

CHAPTER II

ECOLOGY, ECONOMY, AND EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT

Region and Peoples

As compared to the arid plains spreading westward in Oklahoma and southward in Texas, northeastern Oklahoma is green and forested. Ecologically, the region is a continuation of Arkansas and southern Missouri. The Arkansas River cuts deeply through the state of the same name: north of it are the Ozarks or Boston Mountains, south of it the Ouachita Mountains. Both the ranges and the river are indifferent to the state line and shape the contours of eastern Oklahoma, the Ozarks reappearing in diminished form as the Cookson Hills. The River receives the Grand and the Illinois from northeastern Oklahoma, and these testify to an annual precipitation (Cherokee County) of forty-three inches.

The initial lumbering of the area brought a brief explosion of population and towns, and the continual regrowth of the forest provides both a basis for some modest industry based on wood and a setting congenial to tourism and outdoor recreation. (Delaware County has eight sawmills, a handle factory and a gunstock factory, and its gross annual sales of timber products is $450,000.) The climate and cheap labor also make it a suitable region for raising nursery stock, and one of the nation's largest wholesalers is located in Cherokee County. Yet the native soils are neither rich nor easy to till. In their original period of settlement, the Cherokee attempted to introduce a stable and permanent agricultural adaptation. Yet, today, family-based agriculture has all but disappeared and the major agricultural use of the land is cattle ranching, with some dairy farming and poultry raising. During the past generation, the area has been opened to outside communication by means of paved roads, and, in addition, the Army Corps of Engineers has been busily damming the rivers. The effect on the region has been profound: on the one hand, ancient Cherokee communities have been flooded out; and, on the other hand, the forests and the artificial lakes have attracted sportsmen, tourists and vacationeers.

What was the principal region of settlement of the Cherokee Nation is now politically structured as five counties: Adair, Cherokee, Delaware, Mayes, and Sequoyah. The Cherokee Republic, when it existed, claimed sovereignty over a far larger area, and Cherokee families were settled during the nineteenth century, not only in (what is now) Georgia and the Carolinas, but also in Tennessee, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Texas, and elsewhere. Nonetheless, the Five County Region, as we shall be referring to it, remains the major geographic concentration of the Cherokee people.

Yet within this region there are all sorts of ambiguities as to the definition of who is what kind of Cherokee. Under the proper circumstances, a very large proportion of the population will claim to be "of Indian blood", "Cherokee lineage", or "Indian", and, since the persons involved vary considerably in their social position and way of life, some distinctions are essential for purposes of clarity. The most distinctively Cherokee groups are the communities scattered along the hollows of the rural countryside. Many of these settlements are quite old and can trace their histories back to the original Nation. Most are located near and oriented toward distinctively Cherokee institutions such as a Nighthawk Ceremonial Ground ("stomp ground") or a Cherokee Baptist Church. These communities are recognized as such by other Cherokees and have distinctive names; their members speak Cherokee, usually as their primary domestic and religious language. Given the location of these communities and their agricultural origin, they might be distinguished, as did Cullum (1953), by the label, "Rural Cherokee". However, although these communities are still rural, they are far less so than in the past; their basis in subsistence agriculture has disappeared; and many of the persons attached to these communities have employment, or even temporary residences, elsewhere in more urbanized areas. Wahrhaftig (1963a,b) has employed the term, "Tribal Cherokee", and we shall follow his usage, although we must note that the word, "tribe", may wrongly connote to some readers that these communities are linked together in some overarching political framework; the question of such linkages we shall postpone to a later discussion while here we emphasize the ecological and economic characteristics of these discrete communities, as well as the historical fact that these are the communities most clearly and directly descendent from the original settlement of the Cherokee Nation.

In sharp contrast to the persons who participate in such Tribal Cherokee communities are those who are "of Cherokee lineage" but whose lives are otherwise scarcely distinct from those of their

White neighbors. Many of these persons bear the traces of their genetic heritage in the hue of their skin and the cast of their features: they are visibly part "Indian" to those who are knowledgeable in such matters. Some of them pride themselves upon their descent from those who were the leading families of the Cherokee Nation, and this descent offers them both an entree into certain elite associations of Oklahoma as well as the obligation to speak and be responsible for the impoverished and uneducated folk who are also known as Cherokee or Indian. On the other hand, they are quite detached from the lives of the Tribal Cherokee: they neither speak the language nor attend the local ceremonials, except as occasional spectators. Being Cherokee for them is expressed through participation in benevolent, cultural, or political associations which are concerned with Cherokee history or with assisting those whom they consider to be backwards and ignorant Indians. Some of these organized associations have the quality of the Daughters of the American Revolution in that membership is restricted by birth to a selected elite. A few of these persons have taken their identification as Cherokee as a responsibility to be borne, honestly, devotedly,and courageously, but for many others it has simply provided an opportunity to engage in a regional struggle for social status and political power Later in this report we shall be dealing more fully with these peoples whom we denominate as the "Cherokee Elite".

From the communities of rural Cherokee there have drifted a number of persons responding to a variety of pressures. Some communities have been dislocated by dams; others have lost members as a result of economic pushes and pulls; an increasing number of women seem to be lost through intermarriage or concubinage with Whites. In these ways, some persons lose their affiliation and participation with Tribal Cherokee communities and appear as deracinated or detribalized proletarians. They may have enough "Indian blood" to qualify for some of the federal and benevolent programs but such benefits accrue to them as individuals rather than as members of a functioning community. This population may be further subdivided into the stable working class who are relatively permanent residents of the urbanized areas of Oklahoma, and the free-floating proletarians who migrate from area to area in search of opportunities.

On the other hand, some persons may migrate from Tribal Cherokee communities and yet preserve a strong linkage homeward. They will journey home many times per year in order to participate in ceremonials or assist in familial crises, and while they seem to reside in an urban residence elsewhere, their social allegiance may remain in northeastern Oklahoma. Some theorists may presume that such emigrants must eventually assimilate, but this is not necessarily so, and in these cases we must carefully differentiate between the kinds of persons described in the preceding paragraph and those being discussed here. An alternate outcome is the development of an ethnic enclave in their new environment, with the instituting of such traditional ceremonial activities as a church.

Most of the Whites who settled in this area did so after the period of Cherokee migration, and when they settled they found themselves subordinated socially and economically by the Mixedblood families who constituted the elite of the Cherokee Nation. For a time then and still somewhat today, there was a social advantage in northeastern Oklahoma to being of Cherokee lineage and those who lacked that cachet acknowledged that they were recent immigrants. While the Tribal Cherokees withdrew toward the hollows, the Whites settled in the open areas which constituted the better farming land. Over time, a few became economically successful, but many remained poor, and in recent years the latter have been emigrating at a more rapid rate than the Cherokee so that the region is becoming slightly more Indian (Wahrhaftig 1965b). Over time, also, the successful Whites have intermarried with the Cherokee Elite, while the poorer Whites have intermarried or established liasons with the Tribal Cherokees; in neither case should it be presumed that this will signify the dissolution of the ethnic group.

In addition to Indian and White, the region contains a very small number of Negroes. Some, possibly all of them, are descendent from the slaves who accompanied the Mixedblood Elite in their move from the Southeast, and in that case they were awarded by the federal government most of the same rights as the native Cherokee. In any case, the proletarianization of the Tribal Cherokee has left little room for a darker companion, since, as we shall be noting, it is the Tribal Cherokee who in this region perform the underpaid, difficult, and degrading labor which is reserved for the Negro in the Deep South and the Spanish speakers in the Southwest.

Demography & Poverty

The federal census of 1960 reported a population for the five county region of about eighty-two thousand persons, with the individual counties ranging from thirteen to twenty thousand in population (see Table 2.1). Of this total population, about fifteen per cent were classified as "Indian", with the range being from 23% for Adair County to less than 7% for Sequoyah. While the Census procedures for enumeration and classification of Indian leave something to be desired, there is a generally strong agreement between their figures and those which Albert Wahrhaftig estimated for the Tribal Cherokee of the five counties. He finds something over twelve per cent of the regional population are members of Tribal Cherokee communities, and the difference of three per cent could easily be accounted for among Indians outside those communities. If anything, the agreement between Wahrhaftig and the Census is in this respect too good, since it allows insufficient numbers for those who might classify as Indian but are not members of Tribal Cherokee communities, and this discordance leads to the surmise that Census procedures have worked to list as Indian mostly those persons who were either Tribal Cherokees or were otherwise impoverished, lower caste, or non-participants in middle-class society.

The poverty of the region is visible in its substantial out-migration (see Table 2.1). Between 1940 and 1960 the five counties lost almost eighteen per cent of their total population. The decline has been most significant among the rural populace, with some townships, such as Long and McKey for Sequoyah and Chance and Christie of Adair, having lost forty to fifty per cent of their population. These out-migrations are somewhat disguised by the modest growth of such urban places as Tahlequah (the site of Northeastern State College in Cherokee County), Pryor (Mayes County), and Sallisaw (Sequoyah County), as well as by other transformations. Indeed the figures on civilian migration during the decade 1950-1960 show a further loss of almost seventeen thousand persons, which is however not fully represented in the percentile decline given by the census for the individual counties.

The more direct measurement of the poverty of the region are the statistics of family income (see Table 2.2). Among all the counties of Oklahoma, Adair had the lowest median figure in 1960, $1,919., and three of the other counties, Cherokee, Delaware, and Sequoyah, are also below a median annual level of $3,000, with only Mayes County, which has the fewest Indians, rising higher. For the purposes of comparison, we might note that the median family income within the State of Oklahoma was $4,620., while that within the US as a whole was $5,660. Accordingly, the five counties constitute a very depressed region within a state which is itself relatively depressed (Table 2.3). Moreover, if we convert the family income into a per capita income, by estimating a median family size as about four, the median for the four lowest counties comes to less than $700. annually.

The levels of educational achievement confirm the portrait of a depressed population (see Table 2.4). In 1960 for the population aged twenty-five years of age or over, the median number of school years completed was somewhat over eight. This represented a deficiency of two years, as compared to the medians either for the state or the nation. The deficiency is more drastic if we ask about the portion of the adult population who have completed less than five years of school: for Adair County the figure is almost one-quarter; for Mayes County ten per cent: and the other counties ranging from fourteen to twenty per cent. These medians may be compared with a figure of somewhat over eight per cent for the nation and for the state. As compared, then, either to the nation or the state, the adult population of this region has a marked educational deficiency.

The Tribal Cherokee

Since the question of who is what kind of Cherokee -- or who is what kind of Indian in northeastern Oklahoma -- permits several types of answers and would thus require several different approaches for performing a demographic tally, we shall simply note here the approaches recently employed by Wahrhaftig together with their resultant estimate of population.

If a Tribal Cherokee is one who participates in Cherokee ceremonial activities, then an estimate of population can be derived from a counting of the ceremonial institutions. As of 1963 there were 42 churches in the Cherokee Indian Paptist Association, 9 Cherokee Methodist Churches, 5 Cherokee-Creek Baptist Churches, 3 other Cherokee Churches, and 6 Nighthawk Stomp Grounds. Estimating an average of 34 households per church and 50 households per stomp ground, and estimating further an average of 4.9 persons per household, a population of 11,694 results (Wahrhaftig 1965b:9). Wahrhaftig also had informants list the households associated with such ceremonial institutions and by figuring the number of persons corresponding to the households, he arrrived at an estimate of 9491 persons (see Table 2.5). Thus, we might safely estimate the population of Tribal Cherokee as being of the order of magnitude of ten thousand persons. At the same time, we must bear in mind that the residential population of Tribal Cherokees is periodically supplemented by the emigrants who return, sometimes briefly for ceremonial occasions sometimes more prolongedly, as the opportunity arises or necessity requires. However, since the rest of our statistics in this section will concern those who were locally resident at the time of surveys, we can for the moment disregard the commuting participants in Tribal Cherokee society.

Dealing with a population of this sort, whose boundaries are not strictly visible to the outside observer and whose economy tends to fluctuate about the subsistence level, the research finds it difficult to assemble meaningful statistics about income. Nonetheless, it is perfectly clear to any impartial observer that the Tribal Cherokee are economically depressed by the standards of the greater society. Their homes are usually cabins built of logs or crude lumber and sheathed with cardboard or other cheap and readily available materials. Running water is usually absent, although electricity may be found, at least for light. Yet it is also true that many of the nonIndians of this region are poor and that, if we focus on housing, then, for example, only a third of the housing units in Adair County in 1960 were "sound and with all plumbing facilities" (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1963).

The welfare statistics do tend to disclose the comparative economic disadvantage of the Indians (see Table 2.6). Thus, in Adair County, where somewhat less than one-quarter of the population is classed as Indian, almost half of the families on AFDC are Indian, and, considering the five county region as a whole, almost 35% of the families on AFDC are classed as Indian. Relative then to their proportion in the population, Indians are over represented on AFDC by factors of from two to three.

On more direct measures of income. the comparative disadvantage of the Tribal Cherokee is clear (Table 2.7 compared with Table 2.2). Median annual family income in 1960 ranged from $1293 in Sequoyah county to $1941 in Cherokee. We have noted that White income in this region is very low, but Indian income in Sequoyah and Mayes Counties has a median level half of that of the Whites, and in the other counties the level is numerically equally low, if comparatively less disadvantaged to the total population. In any case, it is clear that considerably over half of the families had incomes below $2,000. for the year, and if we estimate family size as four to five persons, this means a per capita income of four to five hundred dollars for the year. Confronted with such stark figures, there is little need for discussion. The Tribal Cherokee exist on the verge of destitution.
2

Casual observation confirms these bald statistics. Housewives in the region are accustomed to pay $3. per day to Indian women for what is termed "baby-sitting" but amounts to laborious domestic work and caring for young children. During 1965-66, we observed Cherokee adults eager to secure work in the local (botanical) nursery, chicken packing plants, and strawberry fields at wages as low as four to six dollars per day. We were not in a position to check upon the influence of the recent federal provisions on minimum wages; however, we would guess that their effect has not been great and that most rates have remained subpar, since the Cherokee believe that they have a choice between low wages or no wages at all. Indeed, many Cherokee adults are unemployed or underemployed. At one time, Cherokee had engaged principally in family agriculture but there is little question that they have lost much of their lands and that whatever land remains is of poor agricultural quality. Even in 1953 only about a quarter of the households surveyed by Cullum were classed as "self-employed, i.e. farmers" and having a corresponding cash income from the sale of agricultural products; a decade later, Wahrhaftig classified almost none of the households as having this economic adjustment. Correlatively, Cullum found that of every ten heads of households, three were not in the labor market and an equal proportion rated only as unskilled laborers who earned less than a thousand dollars per year. A decade later, the figures were even more dispiriting. Almost half of the Tribal Cherokee households are now dependent upon transfer payments: AFDC, pension, social security, Old Age Assistance, or the like.

Under the circumstances, it is reasonable to inquire how do the Tribal Cherokee manage to survive. Whence do they obtain the resources, not only to maintain themselves as a stable population, but even to furnish a certain amount of surplus which becomes added to the general nonIndian population. As Wahrhaftig has pointed out, the answer is twofold: efficiency and cooperation. On the one hand, the Cherokee survive because they co-exist as kin groups and communities in a network of exchange of goods and services. The nuclear household is almost a meaningless unit as compared to this overarching network. People tend to reside in clusters which share matters as the tending of the young, the cooking of the food, the transporting to town for work and shopping, the owning and occupying of the land. An intricate division of labor emerges which is highly efficient in its use of local resources, talents, employment, and cash. This, in turn , is combined with an emphasis upon subsistence and flexibility of adaptation. Since the Cherokee mainly live upon land which is held in trust for them, they either pay no rent or only a modest charge (exacted by the BIA for its services). Dwellings are built of scrap lumber or local timber with the assistance of the skilled laborers within the community. Men hunt and fish as the opportunity provides (although the opening of the area by means of roads, and the transforming of it into a sportsman's vacation ground has been undermining this possibility). Overall, the situation reminds the observer of the remark that for $4,000 annually a family can starve in Manhattan, but for considerably less, it can live in modest comfort in a rural area. The Cherokee have far, far less, but they survive.

Caste & Poverty

As the reader may observe from the fieldwork narrative of this project, the Tribal Cherokee are an administered people. Insofar as they retain special rights as Indians or Cherokee, their spokesman has been selected for them -- the Tribal Government -- and it has more than sufficient power and funds to reject any challenges so far. Acting in its own right and through the vehicle of the Inter-Tribal Council of the Civilized Tribes, the Cherokee Tribal Government has been able to influence substantially the operations and attitudes of the Area Office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Of course, the daily problems of Tribal Cherokees rarely reach these stratospheric levels. They deal with welfare workers, sheriffs, merchants, employers, teachers, lawyers, realtors, and the like, but even here the quality of the problems is markedly affected by the fact that the Tribal Cherokees are impoverished, relatively powerless, and socially degraded. With patience and forebearance, the outside observer can elicit from Tribal Cherokee and their friends a variety of tales of abuse and trickery that reveal persistent violations of the spirit and letter of the law.

One class of complaints will be familiar in principle, if not in detail, to these knowledgable about life in the urban ghetto. Especially widespread is the fear that the welfare workers will remove Indian children from their kinfolk and send them to a boarding school (e.g. Sequoyah High School operated by the BIA). While institutions, such as Sequoyah H.S., are not designed as reformatories, they can in fact be so sued through the medium of court orders (or informal threats by judges) reinforced by threats of severing an individual or family group from the welfare rolls. In an economy as perilously close to bare subsistence as that of most Tribal Cherokee's the threat to remove the family from the welfare rolls has a paralyzing power, and there has been no redress. The issue is not whether the welfare workers throughout the five counties as well qualified, well motivated, and well informed -- most likely, they are underpaid, overworked, and themselves victimized by more powerful forces within the region -- but, from the viewpoint, of the Tribal Cherokee family, they can represent an aweful and irresponsible power. Moreover, the threat of their activities is especially grave, inasmuch as the welfare workers must, according to official policy, orient their services about a nuclear family in an autonomous household unit, whereas the Tribal Cherokee have only been able to survive as extended kin grouping and interdependent residential units within a community.

Again, as in the slums, the Tribal Cherokee are sometimes victimized by local storekeepers. The local folk are induced to shop in the local store by the availability there of credit, by the difficulties of transportation to the county seat with its business sections, as well as by the suspicion and derogation that they may encounter in some of the city stores. Nonetheless, the facts are that they are often overcharged in the rural stores and that local observers will speak of regular prices and Indian prices, the latter being considerably higher. Insofar as credit is given and the storeowner maintains the records, there is opportunity for self-serving error -- a frequent temptation for persons with this power -- and whether or not such errors are customary, Cherokee believe them to be so. In addition, there is the fact that most of these rural stores also serve as local post offices and so receive the mail for most of their clientele. It has been contended that some storekeepers make a regular practice of removing the welfare or other cheques from the mail of their clients, endorsing and depositing them, and so maintaining a complete control over their financial affiars.

Where Cherokees have had land, it has sometimes been swindled from them through adroit and aggressive measures. Oklahoma state laws recognize the acquisition of rights through adverse possession, and one device by which the bold have been able to enlarge their own domains has been the building of fences which have enclosed substantial parts of their neighbor's lands. Combatting such piracy requires an attorney, funds, and bravery in facing the officials of the greater society. A more devious tactic for legalized theft of land requires that the assessor levy taxes on land which has been alloted but is being held in trust by the government and supposedly non-taxable The owner may not be notified of the sums being assessed, although, even if he were notified, he could neither pay the sum nor fight the case in court. After a certain number of years of supposed delinquency of taxes, a court order is obtained allowing the land to be put up for sale.

It was not the intent of this research project to act as detectives and unearth these defraudings of the Tribal Cherokee. We cannot document any of the above accusations, although some were recited to us from persons with unimpeachable credentials and in every position to know the truth. But, indeed from a sociological perspective, it does not matter whether or not the alleged frauds occur frequently, seldom, or never. The fact is that they are believed to occur and the belief testifies to the powerlessness and fear of the Tribal Cherokee.

Educational Achievement

We have already noted that the levels of educational achievement for the total population of the five county region are considerably below national and state norms. If we turn to the Indian population of the region, we find that the median levels are considerable lower yet, and, in evaluating these figures for the Indians, we must bear in mind two circumstances which have the effect of diminishing even further the effects of the schooling reported: first, upon their entry into school, most Cherokee children have been ignorant, or almost ignorant, of English, so that their first few years in the classroom have been meaningful only to the extent that they were devoted to learning to speak and to read English; second, most of these schools have been rural, one-room enterprises, operating on a relatively short school year and with a predominantly Cherokee population of pupils, so that the opportunity to speak or utilize English was limited.

In 1952 a survey was conducted by Cullum under the sponsorship of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the State of Oklahoma. His data were reported fully and when medians are calculated they show a level of educational achievement of 4.6 years for adult men and of 5.3 years for women (see Table 2.8).[1] In 1963, the survey conducted by the Carnegie Project yielded median figures for adult Cherokee that were only one-half grade higher for education achievement: 5.3 grades for adult men and 5.8 for women. Considering the different bases on which the surveys were conducted, these small differences are not likely to be meaningful (Table 2.9 & 2.10).

While the U.S. Census has not printed data for Indians in this region, it has for nonWhites (Tables 2.11 & 2.12), and the medians of educational achievement range from 5.8 grades in Adair to 7.7 in Cherokee, with Mayes County, otherwise usually among the highest in economic conditions, here providing a 6.9. Considering the defects in the Census handling of Indians, I believe we would be justified in accepting the results of the Carnegie survey and taking the median figure for completed schooling among adult Tribal Cherokee as being below six years. If this can be accepted as likely, it means that, on the average, Cherokees have two to three years less schooling than their White neighbors of the region and four to five years less schooling than the other residents of Oklahoma. It means, even further, that should a Cherokee move to one of the cities of Oklahoma, he would encounter a population whose median level of school completion was six or more years beyond his own (Oklahoma City, 11.9; Tulsa, 12.2 -- median school years completed among population aged twenty-years or older, 1960). Economically, then, the Tribal Cherokee is in a bind: since he occupies the most impoverished status in an economically depressed region, there is no possibility of his improving himself locally; however, if he emigrates to an urban area in search of employment, he finds himself necessarily at the very bottom of the labor pool. For, with less than six years of formal education in a rural school and a foreign language, he is unlikely to be fluent in anything but the most basic English; he can scarcely read; and, while he can perform simple arithmetical computations, he is unable to interpret the verbal and cultural contexts of most numerical problems. He may be a shrewd judge of human character, be strong, loyal, reliable, and willing to work, but he will be lucky if he gains employment, and that the most menial and poorly paying.

TABLE 2.1

Peoples and Region (1

	COUNTY					
	ADAIR		CHEROKEE		DELAWARE	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Population						
Total	13,112	100.0	17,762	100.0	13,198	100.0
NonWhite	3,057	23.3	3,456	19.4	2,097	15.9
Negro	1	--	281	1.6	2	--
Indian	3,055	23.3	3,159	17.8	2,093	15.8
Population Increase or Decrease 1950-1960		-12.1		-6.5		-10.4
Land Area (sq. mi.)	569		756		715	
pop. per. sq. mi.	23		24		19	
Migration (net less or gain through civilian migration 1950-1960)	-3,717		-3,420		-2,554	
Urban Places			Tahlequah 5,840			

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census (1963a).

TABLE 2.1

les and Region (1960)

COUNTY							
DELAWARE		MAYES		SEQUOYAH		TOTAL	
No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
13,198	100.0	20,073	100.0	18,001	100.0	82,146	100.0
2,097	15.9	1,799	9.0	2,042	11.3	12,451	15.2
2	--	105	0.5	841	4.7	1,298	1.6
2,093	15.8	1,682	8.4	1,195	6.6	11,184	13.6
	-10.4		1.7		-9.0		
715		676		697			
19		30		26			
-2,554		-1,825		-4,156			
		Pryor Creek		Sallisaw			
		6,476		3,351			

TABLE 2.2

Family Income in 1

COUNTY

	ADAIR		CHEROKEE		DELAWARE	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
All Families	3,369 =	100	4,348 =	100	3,612 =	100
Annual Income						
Under $1,000	725	21.5	560	12.9	581	16.1
$1,000 - $1,999	1,044	31.0	1,130	26.0	983	27.2
$2,000 - $2,999	566	16.8	737	17.0	687	19.0
$3,000 - $3,999	384	11.4	576	13.2	460	12.7
$4,000 - $4,999	228	6.8	331	7.6	285	7.9
$5,000 - $5,999	186	5.5	331	7.6	163	4.5
$6,000 - $6,999	72	2.1	201	4.6	128	3.5
$7,000 - $7,999	61	1.8	95	2.2	100	2.8
$8,000 - $8,999	34	1.0	89	2.0	79	2.2
$9,000 - $9,999	19	0.6	77	1.8	42	1.2
$10,000 - $14,999	20	0.6	148	3.4	80	2.2
$15,000 - $24,999	26	0.8	35	0.8	20	0.6
$25,00 and over	4	0.1	38	0.9	4	0.1
Median Income: Families	$1,919		$2,657		$2,352	
Families and unrelated individuals	$1,732		$1,793		$2,998	

TABLE 2.2

Family Income in 1959

COUNTY							
DELAWARE		MAYES		SEQUOYAH		TOTAL	
No.	%	No	%	No.	%	No.	%
3,612 =	100	5,312 =	100	4,532 =	100	21,173 =	100
581	16.1	572	10.8	940	20.7	3,378	16.0
983	27.2	1,031	19.4	970	21.4	5,158	24.4
687	19.0	758	14.3	724	16.0	3,472	16.4
460	12.7	631	11.9	593	13.1	2,644	12.5
285	7.9	544	10.2	361	8.0	1,749	8.3
163	4.5	540	10.2	331	7.3	1,551	7.3
128	3.5	367	6.9	205	4.5	973	4.6
100	2.8	227	4.3	118	2.6	601	2.8
79	2.2	197	3.7	93	2.0	492	2.3
42	1.2	137	2.6	50	1.1	325	1.5
80	2.2	210	4.0	120	2.6	578	2.7
20	0.6	82	1.5	15	0.3	178	0.8
4	0.1	16	0.3	12	0.3	74	0.3
$2,352		$3,468		$2,492			
$2,998		$2,854		$2,114			

TABLE 2.3

Family Income and Public Ass

COUNTY

	Adair		Cherokee		Delaware	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
A. Income in 1959 of families, 1960						
Median Income, $	$1,919		2,657		2,352	
Under $3,000		69.3		55.8		62.3
$10,000 and over		1.5		5.1		2.9
B. No. of family units, 1960.	3,369	100.0	4,348	100.0	3,612	100.0
Aid to families with dependent children '64-65	460	13.6	469	10.8	322	8.9
C. Amount of welfare assistance returned to county per sales tax dollar collected	19.28		9.31		17.56	
D. Total assistance payments, ($1,000)	1,880		1,826		1,668	

Sources:
A. U.S. Bureau of Census
B. Oklahoma Public Welfare Commission (Annual Report, 1965), Table 35.
C. Oklahoma Public Welfare Commission (Annual Report, 1965), Table 2.
D. Oklahoma Public Welfare Commission (Annual Report, 1965), Table 3.

TABLE 2.3

come and Public Assistance

COUNTY							
Delaware		Mayes		Sequoyah		STATE of OKLAHOMA	
No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
2,352		3,468		2,492		4,620	
	62.3		44.4		58.1		31.0
	2.9		5.8		3.2		10.1
3,612	100.0	5,312	100.0	4,352	100.0	612.790	100.0
322	8.9	291	5.5	533	12.2	24,716	4.0
17.56		6.37		14.99		2.70	
1,668		1,578		2,394		122,573	

Table 35.
Table 2.
Table 3.

TABLE 2.4

Educational Achievement of Regional Population

	Adair	Cherokee	Delaware
A. Population, 25 years old and over (1960)			
Median school years completed	8.2	8.6	8.5
Completed less than 5 years of school ..%	22.6	16.3	14.0
Completed high school or more.....%	18.3	26.4	22.9
B. Rural population, Median school years completed...	8.0	8.3	8.5
Rural nonWhite population Median school years completed	5.8	7.7	6.3

Sources: U.S. Bureau of Census throughout
A. U.S. Bureau of Census (1963a)
B. as cited in Wahrhaftig (1965a)

TABLE 2.4

Educational Achievement of Regional Population

a d	Adair	Cherokee	Delaware	Mayes	Sequoyah	STATE OF OKLAHOMA
	8.2	8.6	8.5	8.8	8.2	10.4
1 ..%	22.6	16.3	14.0	10.4	20.2	8.6
2	18.3	26.4	22.9	29.9	18.0	40.5
	8.0	8.3	8.5	8.7	8.2	8.8
on	5.8	7.7	6.3	6.9	7.1	7.8

f Census throughout
au of Census (1963a)
in Wahrhaftig (1965a)

TABLE 2.5

Demography of Tribal Cherokee

	COUNTY						REGION
	Adair	Cherokee	Delaware	Mayes	Sequoyah	Muskogee	Total
No. of households (survey) 1963	615	420	375	244	243	40	1937
Population, estimate from household listing	3012	2058	1838	1197	1191	196	9491
Cherokee Population (1963) as per cent of total pop. (1960)....%	23	11	14	6	7	...	11

* Wahrhaftig (1965b)

TABLE 2.6

Public Assistance to Indians of the Region, 1964-65

	COUNTY						
	ADAIR		CHEROKEE		DELAWARE		MAYES
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
Old Age Assistance							
Total	1,199	100.0	1,131	100.0	1,114	100.0	1,189
White	894	74.6	892	78.9	923	81.0	1,044
Indian	262	21.8	223	19.7	191	16.8	135
Aid to Families with Dependent children							
Total families	460	100.0	469	100.0	322	100.0	291
White families	232	50.4	258	55.0	180	55.9	200
Indian families	227	49.3	187	39.9	142	44.1	90
Aid to the Blind							
Total	36	100.0	20	100.0	21	100.0	20
White	27	75.0	14	70.0	16	76.2	14
Indian	8	22.2	6	30.0	5	23.8	5
Aid to Disabled							
Total	242	100.0	253	100.0	266	100.0	267
White	163	67.4	187	73.9	202	75.9	222
Indian	79	32.6	58	22.9	64	24.1	44

Source: Oklahoma Public Welfare Commission (1965).

TABLE 2.6

c Assistance to Indians of the Region, 1964-65

COUNTY									
CHEROKEE		DELAWARE		MAYES		SEQUOYAH		TOTAL	
No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
,131	100.0	1,114	100.0	1,189	100.0	1,504	100.0	6,137	100.0
892	78.9	923	81.0	1,044	87.8	1,282	85.2	5,035	82.1
223	19.7	191	16.8	135	11.4	137	9.1	948	15.4
469	100.0	322	100.0	291	100.0	533	100.0	2,075	100.0
258	55.0	180	55.9	200	68.7	405	76.0	1,275	61.4
187	39.9	142	44.1	90	30.9	122	22.9	768	37.0
20	100.0	21	100.0	20	100.0	55	100.0	152	100.0
14	70.0	16	76.2	14	70.0	41	74.5	112	73.7
6	30.0	5	23.8	5	25.0	12	21.8	36	23.7
253	100.0	266	100.0	267	100.0	359	100.0	1,387	100.0
187	73.9	202	75.9	222	83.1	303	84.4	1,077	77.6
58	22.9	64	24.1	44	16.5	32	8.9	280	20.2

965).

TABLE 2.7

Family Income of NonWhites in 1959

	COUNTY						
	ADAIR		CHEROKEE		DELAWARE		MAYES
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
All Families	674 =	100	676 =	100	412 =	100	358 =
Annual Income							
Under $1,000	196	29.1	130	19.2	129	31.3	102
$1,000 - $1,999	266	39.5	221	32.7	118	28.6	99
$2,000 - $2,999	112	16.6	91	13.5	79	19.2	80
$3,000 - $3,999	46	6.8	85	12.6	36	8.7	15
$4,000 - $4,999	13	1.9	38	5.6	16	3.9	24
$5,000 - $5,999	14	2.1	40	5.9	..	...	26
$6,000 - $6,999	14	2.1	40	5.9	3	0.7	4
$7,000 - $7,999	5	0.8	9	1.3	4	1.0	...
$8,000 - $8,999	...	...	14	2.1	12	2.9	3
$9,000 - $9,999	...	...	...	...	4	1.0	...
$10,000 and over	8	1.2	8	1.2	11	2.7	5
Median Income: Families	$1,530		$1,941		$1,653		$1,778
Families and unrelated individuals	$1,458		$1,123		$1,550		$1,727

TABLE 2.7

Family Income of NonWhites in 1959

COUNTY									
EROKEE		DELAWARE		MAYES		SEQUOYAH		TOTAL	
.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
	= 100	412	= 100	358	= 100	421	= 100	2541	= 100
	19.2	129	31.3	102	28.5	180	42.8	737	29.0
	32.7	118	28.6	99	27.7	104	24.7	808	32.8
	13.5	79	19.2	80	22.3	84	20.0	446	17.6
	12.6	36	8.7	15	4.2	25	5.9	207	8.1
	5.6	16	3.9	24	6.7	14	3.3	105	4.1
	5.9	..	...	26	7.3	8	1.9	88	3.5
	5.9	3	0.7	4	1.1	6	1.4	67	2.6
	1.3	4	1.0	...	...	...	...	18	0.7
	2.1	12	2.9	3	0.8	...	...	29	1.1
	...	4	1.0	...	...	...	...	4	0.2
	1.2	11	2.7	5	1.4	...	...	32	1.3
1		$1,653		$1,778		$1,293			
3		$1,550		$1,727		$ 953			

TABLE 2.8

Educational Achievement of Tribal Cherokee, 1952

PERSONS 18 YEARS OR OLDER

Highest School Grade Completed	MALES		FEMALES		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
None	43	7.9	46	8.4	89	8.2
One	46	8.5	37	6.8	83	7.6
Two	32	5.9	23	4.2	55	5.0
Three	57	10.5	41	7.5	98	9.0
Four	60	11.0	56	10.2	116	10.6
Five	58	10.7	53	9.7	111	10.2
Six	45	8.3	58	10.6	103	9.4
Seven	35	6.4	38	6.9	73	6.7
Eight	88	16.2	88	16.1	176	16.1
Nine	22	4.0	24	4.4	46	4.2
Ten	20	3.7	17	3.1	37	3.4
Eleven	12	2.2	16	2.9	28	2.6
Twelve	21	3.8	32	5.9	53	4.9
Entered College	5	0.9	18	3.3	23	2.1
Total Persons	544	100.0	547	100.0	1,091	100.0
Median School Grade Completed	4.6		5.3		4.9	

* Source: Cullum (1953), medians corrected

TABLE 2.9

Educational Achievement by Local Community
Of Tribal Cherokee, 1963

	MEDIAN	SCHOOL	LEVEL
Community	Males	Females	Total
Hulbert	6.5	5.6	6.0
Cherry Tree	7.0	7.8	7.5
Marble City	4.0	6.0	6.0
Bull Hollow	5.5	5.0	5.0
All	5.3	5.8	5.5

* Wahrhaftig (1965a)

TABLE 2.10

Functional Illiteracy Among Adult Tribal Cheroke

COMMUNITY	COMPLETED GRADE 4 OR LESS		
	MALES %	FEMALES %	TOTAL %
Hulbert	48	25	37
Cherry Tree	29	28	28
Marble City	48	25	37
Bull Hollow	47	47	47
All	42	38	40

Source: Wahrhaftig (1965b)

TABLE 2.11

NonWhite Population 1960: Years of School Completed

	Adair	Cherokee	Delaware	Mayes	Sequoyah	TOTAL
Persons 25 years old & over	1342	1404	902	775	930	6695
No. of school years completed	197	187	51	73	119	627
Elementary: 1 - 4	387	276	278	185	185	1311
5 & 6	210	157	182	137	148	834
7 yrs	101	114	80	78	104	477
8 yrs	211	220	136	158	197	922
High School: 1 - 3	103	158	106	57	107	531
4	98	169	54	49	44	414
College : 1 - 3	13	66	15	26	12	132
4 or more	22	57	...	12	14	105
Median school years completed	5.8	7.7	6.3	6.9	7.1	

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census (1963b)

TABLE 2.12

NonWhite Population, 1960, School Enrollment

	Adair	Cherokee	Delaware	Mayes	Sequoyah	TOTAL
Total Enrolled, 5 - 34 years old	796	1313	604	570	651	3934
Kindergarten	10	...	...	...	...	10
Public	10	...	...	...	...	10
Elementary (1 - 8 yrs)	625	828	496	459	493	2901
Public	625	729	496	459	493	2802
High School (1-4 yrs.)	157	354	108	111	158	888
Public	157	162	108	111	158	696
College	4	131	...	...	...	135

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census (1963b)

NOTES

1. Cullum miscalculated these medians, as is visible by inspection of his data, and so his report stated the figures as being a year too much. Since the crucial figures are given in Table 2.8 of this report, the reader can verify the medians himself, if he should wish. Wahrhaftig has argued that they are also likely to have been additionally exaggerated because, on the basis of Cullum's description of his sample, roughly one-fifth would have been functionally White and, if these persons had been reared according to typical White patterns, their median figure for school years completed would have been seven. However, it is necessary to be cautious on this matter, for it is very possible that the Whites who were classed by Cullum's interviewers as being "Indian" might well have been very low on the scale of educational achievement, so that they could conceivably have depressed the population median rather than raised it. Fortunately, the issue is not crucial, and, happily, the medians from Cullum's data (when properly computed) are in near agreement with those of the Carnegie survey, when corresponding age groups are compared and allowance is made for the passing of a decade.

ADDENDUM

Note 2 for p. 11, paragraph 3.

In 1965 J. Ross Underwood surveyed one hundred households selected randomly via the Cherokee County census of Indians under the age of eighteen. He comments (Underwood 1966:87) that "Physical facilities showed that only nine per cent of the households had city water, seven per cent had inside toilets, and thirty-four had electricity. Twenty-six per cent had no visible toilet facilities. In one household fourteen members of the family were living in a small two-room house."

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Part II

THE TRIBAL CHEROKEES AND THE SCHOOLS

Introduction

In February of 1966, Mildred Dickeman settled in Sherwood, a small rural village of the Five County Region. The major governmental institution within the village was the rural school, then staffed by two educators and serving a student body that was almost wholly composed of Tribal Cherokee. Dickeman established amicable relationships with the principal of the school and devoted herself initially to the observation of the classrooms. She also visited other schools within easy travelling distance as well as attending church and other ceremonial activities and otherwise attempting to participate in communal life in the style of a participantly observing ethnographer. In time she came to know and be known by many of the Cherokee people of the local area. She then began to supplement her other activities with interviews which were conducted in Cherokee households, and here she was greatly assisted by Lucille Proctor, a Cherokee matron of wisdom and integrity. Mrs. Proctor acted initially as interpreter and guide to Dr. Dickeman but soon came to demonstrate that she was capable of conducting the survey quite independently.

As Dickeman was consolidating her relationships with the local Cherokee, and as Mrs. Proctor was conducting the survey, they began to encounter a formidable series of obstacles . Rumors and threats, whose sources were easy to guess but difficult to confirm, circulated wildly among the Cherokee. Some persons were attempting to thwart the course of the investigation by smearing the Project as being Communist, by frightening parents with tales that the listing of children was a preliminary to removing them from familial households and confining them in boarding schools, and by threatening that those who allowed themselves to be surveyed would come to regret this cooperative behavior when the time came to receive welfare and other benefits from community agencies. Since the further story of this intrigue is narrated elsewhere in the Project report, it need not be detailed here. Suffice it to say that it became necessary for Dickeman to leave the area and region for a while, and that during this enforced "vacation", she produced the essay on the integrity of the Cherokee child. (It will be noted that, at the time her essay was composed, the survey was still in progress and that hence the essays written later by Dumont utilize a different base figure; however, her essay has been left unaltered because, at the time she wrote it, the surveying of the Sherwood area was practically completed, and the later interviews served principally to enlarge the area being surveyed.)

Mrs. Proctor, assisted by her daughter Adalene and by Elsie Willingham, another Cherokee matron, continued to conduct interviews in Cherokee households. That, under the circumstances, they were able to make any headway at all is a tribute to their patience, perseverence, and courage; it is also a tribute to their fellow Cherokee and to the concern of both parties for their youngsters, their schooling, and their vocations. Reading the protocols of these interviews is an enriching experience, for it becomes apparent that the interview process became a familial affair, both in the questionning, the responding, and even the careful translating of Cherokee oral responses into written English. The restricted English vocabulary and syntax of the Tribal Cherokees was manipulated with great dexterity in order to convey a distinctively Cherokee view. This is epitomized by the peculiar usage of the English word, "love", in order to characterize the ideal relationship of teacher and pupil. From these interview protocols and our other knowledge of the Tribal Cherokee, it becomes clear that they conceive this relationship as requiring of both parties respect, trust, gentleness, and a courteous sensibility to the responses of the other. But of this, more will be discussed later. Suffice it here to say that, proceeding in this careful fashion and in the face of threats which required her to provide continual reassurances to her respondents -- including the returning of the interview protocols to families which became agitated and anxious -- Mrs. Proctor managed to conduct an interview in almost everyone of the Tribal Cherokee households in the area she chose to work. This amounted to 158 households representing 874 persons: 300 adults, 324 children enrolled in school; and 250 children who were either too young, or had dropped out, or were otherwise engaged. These interviews provide one of the major bases for the essays of Dickeman and Dumont and their content will be discussed therein. Dumont's essay also gives further details on the nature of the population represented through the survey.

After the drama associated with the site visit of 1966, there was sufficient lull in the hostilities directed against the KU project for further fieldwork to be conducted among the Tribal Cherokee and focussing further on the rural schools. This research was headed by Robert V. Dumont, who received assistance from Kathryn RedCorn and Clyde and Della Warrior. This team of researchers again concentrated upon a small rural school serving a population that was predominantly Tribal Cherokee. Collectively, they spent many hours observing classroom interaction; they administered sentence-completion and other schedules to the pupils within the school; and they held long discussions with the educators. Besides this, Dumont and his associates had access to the interviews being collected by Lucille Proctor and her associates, as well as to the field diaries of Mildred Dickeman. Naturally enough, his analysis of the situation, as presented in the essays of this section, differs in emphasis and coloration from that of Dickeman. The social reality is exceedingly complex, and we should not anticipate that two attempts at its description will prove identical.

II. THE INTEGRITY OF THE CHEROKEE STUDENT [1]

by MILDRED DICKEMAN

Introduction

Examining the structural discrimination of the school system against the lower-class pupil, Frank Riessman (1962: 23-24) stated the need for two ingredients, if the middle-class teacher is to succeed in his educational goals. First, understanding, and particularly a deeper understanding of cultural differences, and secondly, respect for the student are essential. Riessman indicated how the latter must grow in part from the former. Yet, since the publication of his work, little serious examination of cultural differences in behavior within the classroom has been undertaken. On the contrary, there has been increasing acceptance in both sociological and educational circles of sweeping and unverified generalities about the "culture" of the poor, in which Riessman also unfortunately indulged.[2] More recently, Fuchs (1966: 161) has commented that "although we give lip service to the notion that the dignity of each child should be respected, the ongoing interpersonal relations and the experiences of the youngsters do not seem to indicate that we really do this." Yet there has been "little empirical research on the destructive role played by interpersonal relations within schools."

This discussion of the relations between Cherokee students and their teachers is an attempt at such an exploration. Focussing on only one of the many factors which combine to produce the educational failure of the school system relative to Oklahoma Cherokees, it emphasizes the need for an informed respect, resting on the recognition of deep cultural differences in values and behavior. Although dealing with an ethnic subculture markedly different from the dominant society in history and ethos, and geographically isolated from many of its institutions, I believe this analysis has wider relevance to those social classes and ethnic minorities more closely incorporated into Western society which, however, share with Cherokees an unwillingness, variously expressed, to be educated on terms that involve the violation of their personal and social selves.[3] It will, I think, demonstrate as well the futility of attempts to define as a unified "culture" that diverse collection of subsocieties whose classification as an entity (by social scientists and by the society at large) rests merely on their common alienation from the seats of economic and political power.

By all the standard indices, the Cherokees of northeastern Oklahoma fall under the rubric of the economically and educationally deprived. "Fullblood"[4] Cherokees, numbering about ten thousand, live primarily in small, dispersed rural communities in the Ozark foothills of five northeastern counties. Available data indicate that they earn less than half the average family income for the counties in which they reside, and a recent survey (Wahrhaftig 1965b: 54-62) of communities in four of these counties revealed a median family income of $2250-

$2300 and a per capita income of from $450-$600, with over half of the households wholly or partially dependent upon welfare. Likewise, the educational achievement of Cherokees is extremely low. The survey referred to above shows 5.5 as the median number of school years completed by adult Cherokees, an increase over the 3.3 years reported in 1933. Almost all Cherokees are educated in public schools, in what is for them a foreign language. Forty percent of adult Cherokees are functionally illiterate in English (Wahrhaftig 1965b: 33-41). While detailed data on enrollment and dropout patterns are lacking, a study of the 1965 school registers (Underwood 1966) indicated fairly constant enrollment to the eighth grade, a decline by 20% at the ninth grade, and a further decline to only one-third of the first grade enrollment, by the twelfth grade. Only 1 or 2% actually graduate. (It must be cautioned that enrollment figures are difficult to evaluate where there is wide variance in the enforcement of truancy laws, and where many advantages accrue to the school district that inflates its Indian enrollment figures).

Some Cherokee Interactional Premises

Cherokees grow up in a world of restraint; not the restraint of Anglo-Saxon American society, compounded of a high value on internalized will-power, a deep sense of individual responsibility and a respect for formal rules and regulations. Rather, they value and inculcate an emotional and behavioral restraint in dealing with others, which expresses great respect for the physical and psychic autonomy and privacy of others, and fear in the face of social intrusion, operating in a societal context of close kin and long co-residence ties. Thus, the essential actions and the obligation to recognize the autonomy and privacy of others. The result is a deep sensitivity to the interactional responses of the community of significant others.

This restraint is manifest both verbally and gesturally. Strong emotional responses to life are displayed only rarely, or by indirection. Sorrow is not openly communicated by strong verbal exclamations or by tears; Cherokees do not cry in public even if that "public" be one's immediate family. Profoundly distressing and even threatening news (such as the news of mistreatment of Cherokee children by authorities, received at a public meeting at which I was present) is received only with the softest of murmurs and facial expressions of intense and profound sorrow. The expression of anger is placed under even greater control. Indeed, while feelings of sadness may find verbal expression in appropriately muted tones, situations which would evoke open expression of anger in Oklahoma Whites produce in Cherokees verbalizations of sorrow or of fear. Thus, in discussing individuals intensely disliked by the majority of the community, or against whom the speaker has major grievances, they remark, "When I think about that man, I feel sorry," or "I'm not made at him, just afraid of him," and "I'm not mad. I just don't understand those people." (Referents of these remarks were both Cherokee and White). Cherokees find in the fundamentalist Cherokee Baptist church, to which most are affiliated, additional support for this behavior. Indeed the only Fullblood whom I recall expressing anger openly ("I'm mad," regarding injustices against Cherokees) is a youth of far more than average education and experience in White society.

The disapproval of anger extends to physical violence, which is rare and extremely furtive in Cherokee communities, and condoned only as a response to a series of extreme provocations, or as a community action. Violence arising out of community consensus, and directed against individuals regarded as traitors to Cherokee society, exemplified by the political assassinations of Cherokee history, is seen as an unfortunate necessity. Indeed, Cherokees have long viewed themselves as followers of the "white path" of peace, in contrast to warlike Western tribes (cf. Thomas 1954). This is in great contrast to White mores in northeast Oklahoma, where the individual defense of masculine pride by fist and gun is still common. Rather than open violence, Cherokees with long-term grievances are more likely to resort to other modes of personal revenge: witchcraft and houseburning. So true is this that when Cherokees learn of a house burning down, their immediate response is to speculate on interpersonal enmities. And individuals of high status who die suddenly are regarded as possibly victims of witchcraft. Yet the disapproval of physical violence pursues one even here: when their enemies die, Cherokees fear being accused of witchcraft.

This ethos is clearly demonstrated in the initiation of social interaction. In receiving visitors at his home, a Cherokee maintains social distance by receiving strangers outside the house, standing in the yard or at the door. But once trust is established, the privilege of entry into the house, without knocking, is granted without any verbal invitation. Although a fearful and suspicious reception (with a minimum of verbal responses) is more often accorded to Whites, it is not limited to them, and once a relation of trust has been established, Whites too are included in the latter category. In approaching the home of another Cherokee who is not an intimate relation, or when the mission may involve rejection (as in interviewing), a Cherokee screws up his body in a tense, constrained, slow-motion walk expressing not only the defense of his own self from invasion, but hesitation over invasion of another's privacy. Cherokees visiting in automobiles will park in the drive, waiting for the resident to emerge at the sound of the car. A bold youth will honk the horn and wait. This seems rude to a White, because he must leave his house to answer the call, but polite to a Cherokee because it is less intrusive into the other's home, and allows the latter the privilege of ignoring the visit. It is usually only younger and bolder Cherokees who knock on doors, as do Whites. Yet, if a relationship of mutual trust and obligation exists, a Cherokee will enter his friend's home freely without knocking at all.

Restraint extends to physical contacts. Cherokees do not often shake hands. When they do, the handshake is neither firm nor prolonged. Physical contact even with close associates and kin is much less common than in White society, especially between adults. Only in joking situations are Cherokees seen openly nudging and jostling each other. In fact, joking and teasing, highly developed arts among Cherokees, serve many important interactional functions which are related to the ethos of restraint. They are used to express close personal fondness in a society which tabus embrace or caress, and are employed to convey approval or disapproval of individuals present or absent. They are used to probe the intentions and trustworthiness of others, in contexts in which Whites would engage in direct questioning. Cherokees do not indulge in direct interrogation except on the most trivial and non-threatening matters, or where it is absolutely unavoidable. Inquiry into personal, emotion-laden opinions is very ill-mannered until trust has been established. It is another invasion of personal privacy: the census and the interview must appear to Cherokees as appalling inventions.

Not only physical contact and verbal interrogation, but even too persistent looking at another is, in the Cherokee view, intrusive. Staring, especially at strangers, is avoided and the feeling of being stared at is deeply disturbing to adult Cherokees. Although they may in some contexts look each other directly in the eyes, this is proper only in situations defined as non-threatening, and even then they do not do so in the prolonged and intense manner employed by some American Whites while in conversation. Two Cherokees, deep in conversation, feeling accord and successful communication, are more likely to incline their heads toward each other, gazing in the same direction as they focus on the same subject, with occasional glances of eye contact. Staring is in fact so penetrating that it is used by Cherokees, as by some other American Indian societies, as a powerful means of disciplining and controlling the young. Cherokee adults respond to continued staring by removing themselves from visibility or, if that not feasible, turning their backs to the viewer.

Loud vocies are similarly objectionable. The quietness of Cherokees is some times unnerving to Oklahoma Whites, who tend to equate privacy with secrecy, and loudness with honesty. In public meetings as well as in smaller gatherings, Cherokees speak softly. They do not show, at meetings or parties, marked approval by loud interjections or clapping, or by loud laughing. To a White observer, all is muted. Approvals are muttered or chuckled. Disapprovals are more often seen than heard. There could be no greater contrast than that between Cherokee participants at political meetings, and the "campaign manner" of the White Oklahoma politician. Expectably, the fear of intrusion extends to situations in which an individual is on public display. Cherokees are visibly reluctant and uncomfortable at standing alone to speak or perform, under the scrutiny of others, and the well-mannered audience responds to this discomfort by listening with lowered heads and eyes averted, glancing rather than looking at the exposed self. Group presentations are markedly more tolerable. Cherokees enjoy performing group music even before an audience, but few will undertake even amateur solo performance.

These muted and restrained approaches to human interactions are in marked contrast to the behavior of Oklahoma Whites, which (although showing a much greater range of variation) is often loudly and aggressively friendly and persistent. Oklahoma White often displease, upset and frighten Cherokees by interpersonal approaches involving loud expressions of friendship and curiosity, handshaking and backslapping. Likewise, a brusque and authoritarian manner often prevents successful communication when Whites deal with Cherokees. This restraint on the expression of strong emotion, and the fear of its expression in others, may be stated in a more revelatory manner as part of a general Cherokee ethos which frowns on acts intrusive upon another's personal privacy, both physical and mental. To this society, in other words, violence, or the violation of another's self, has both a broader meaning and a stronger interdiction than it does for Oklahoma Whites.

Yet the obverse of restraint is freedom, and Cherokee fear of intrusion implies a respect for the autonomy of individuals markedly greater than that found in Anglo-American society. Even within the limitations of extensive kin and community obligations, the individual retains an essential freedom in decision-making, in defining the locus, quality and degree of his commitments. Even verbal advice and suggestion is coercive unless indirect, and those coercive sanctions which are employed are far more subtle than those of the surrounding White society, consisting primarily of the teasing referred to above, gossip and the fear of witchcraft. This principle of autonomy is well expressed by Wahrhaftig (1966: 64-65) in his discussion of the bases of Cherokee communal action:

> Action is successful when people signify agreement by participating. Disagreement is indicated by non-participation, the matter is dropped. The process can be re-initiated [illegible]

> at a later time if changed circumstances warrant it, but when people express disapproval by not participating, proposals are not pressed. Pressure forces people into having to choose between doing what they think right and staying "out" or violating their own will to avoid offending people who support action. Cherokees will not put other Cherokees in this position.

The emphasis on autonomy in Cherokee life is clearly expressed in attitudes regarding learning.[6] Cherokee learning begins with observation and imitation, which ensures that the process will be initiated by the learner, not the teacher. A task is begun by a novice only when he feels competent to perform the whole process; consequently, the novice learns theory and practice simultaneously. Nor will another intrude to correct the novice if he begins to err. He is allowed to complete his task and learn for himself the consequences of error (and one of these will almost surely be teasing from his associates). Guidance, when given, is offered as opinion. If the learner cares to listen he may do so; he will not be coerced by being told what to do.

Aside from those activities which must be learned informally in a Cherokee community, there is one formal situation in which learner-teacher relations may be observed in a fully Cheroke institution. This is the learning of literacy in the Cherokee syllabary which is engaged in within the Cherokee Baptist Church, which still, in most communities, relies primarily on the New Testament in Syllabary as its text. Most Cherokees do not begin to acquire literacy in Cherokee until they are in their thirties, when as responsible adults they anticipate positions of leadership. Wahrhaftig's survey (1965a: 26) revealed that 65% of the adults over thirty, in one of the communities in which I worked, were literate in Cherokee. This literacy may be acquired through the church, from another member of one's family or autodidactically.

In the Cherokee "sunday school", literacy is acquired through readings in the New Testament. The preacher selects a passage, and calls on each member of the congregation in turn to read aloud. If an individual has difficulty reading a word or passage, he will be prompted spontaneously by other members. An individual who is totally illiterate will be prompted, word for word, by his neighbor, who points at the words in the text. None are ever passed over on the basis of ignorance, none are rushed. No matter how much time is involved, all are called upon. These principles of learning give to the superficial observer an impression of much greater "equality" between teacher and learner, and between learners of differing abilities. But that impression is no more than a projection of our Western equation of "equality" with "respect." Cherokees show great esteem for the elderly, the knowledgeable, the wise. They discriminate clearly between the effective and the ineffectual. But they do not impose learning from above. The essential respect for the autonomy of others decrees that the learner shall determine the quantity and quality of his education. The primary function of others involved in the same learning situation is to serve as supportive assistants, and as models. It is the "inner voice" of the learner which determines and defines the relationship.

Respect for the autonomy of others and fear of violence to one's own integrity: this Cherokee interrelational ethos implies a definition of the good man which includes a subtle sensitivity to the feelings of others. Cherokees, in English conversation, use the word "trust" frequently in evaluating themselves and others. The good man is trustworthy, which connotes not only (as in our semantics) that he is reliable, but that he trusts and respects others. One gains trust from Cherokees not only by reliably meetings one's obligations, but by a marked recognition of their right to carry on their own concerns with a minimum of intrusive supervision and curiosity, however friendly. The Cherokee ethos recognizes, as Whites often fail to do, that even the most friendly and well-meaning personal interest can be exceedingly coercive. Conversely, the "mean" man, in Cherokee terms, is violative, intrusive, whether physically violent or not. Untrustworthy and untrusting, he is disrespectful of others' personal integrity, which he breaks in upon and destroys.

Cherokee Parent and Child

Cherokee parents, with their responsibility to inculcate respect for others in their young, often say that they are "strict" as parents, or that they approve of strictness with children. But the White who takes this statement at face value in the semantics of his own behavior will grossly misunderstand. Cherokees rarely engage in physical discipline and do not approve its constant use in others. Rather, their means are the soft voice, withdrawal, staring, and other subtle intimidations. They engage in more explanation and less dogmatic assertion. This treatment is coupled with toleration for a wide latitude of childhood behavior until about the age of seven. And Cherokee children are allowed to be present, if they choose, at all adult events, but are not coerced into attending. Someone has said that American Indians treat their children as little adults. I would say, rather, that Cherokees accord to their children, as human beings, a status and integrity which they accord to all other human beings, but which we Whites, in contrast, accord only to adults, and indeed often only to adults in our own class and caste.

How perplexing is this behavior to the local Whites! A schoolteacher expressed confusion to me over the strange alternation between indifference and overindulgence in Cherokee mothers: they do not escort their children to school on the first day as do White mothers (nor do the children cry, as do White children) yet at an annual party for school children these Cherokee mothers serve the children first, then the men, and themselves last. But what appears contradictory to Whites is the logical outcome of a different definition of childhood integrity. Conversely, the behavior of White parents must appear contradictory to Cherokees. Although Cherokee women are fully as concerned as Whites about the well-being of their children in school, it is only White mothers who stand at the door each morning seeing their children off. Yet whipping is employed as a standard means of discipline by most White parents, and regarded by the school system as proper, to be used at the discretion of the teacher. It is certainly true that rural Oklahoma Whites accord to their young some aspects of adult status much earlier than do urban middle-class American Whites. Like frontier families, they involve their offspring early in the skills and responsibilities of subsistence farming and home maintenance. Yet it is precisely the delegation of greater and more complex responsibilities which marks increasing adulthood, or humanness, among Whites. Cherokees, on the other hand, are less likely to delegate, more likely to wait for the child's voluntary participation in family activities.

Task-responsibility is no criterion of adulthood, nor is willingness to be coerced into tasks a criterion of good behavior. Cherokees focus rather on the individual's social sensitivity to other members of the Cherokee community, and delay full adulthood until the psychological maturity of the thirties. The good man, after all, is by definition an adult.

A concern for justice pervades the play of Cherokee children, which appeared to me not only minimally violent, but also less querulous than that of middleclass White children. The notion, common in rural White Oklahoma, that children should settle their disputes themselves as an exercise in self-reliance, is not shared by Cherokees. Consequently, a child will regularly seek the intervention of an older sibling or an adult, if he feels that he, or an ally, has been misused.

The consequence of these Cherokee childrearing procedures is that up up to the age of seven or eight, children are markedly trusting, although quiet. They do not demand attention, but respond openly when it is given. They engage in the playful teasing of their adult models. By their teens, however, Cherokee children are extremely shy, especially in the presence of Whites. By then, they have internalized the respect values of their society, have acquired an increasing awareness of the nature of Cherokee-White relations, yet lack the sense of personal security and competence which an adult Cherokee acquires through community interactions. Teenagers lower their eyes before strangers, stand so as to interpose an object between themselves and the stranger's view. Girls appear frightened, boys "cool" and withdrawn. Their behavior and feeling-tone are in marked contrast to that of the assertive White teenagers of the surrounding society.

The relevance of these behavioral modes, and the values that underlie them, to the responses of Cherokee students confronted with formal Western schooling, is apparent. The more so, since the public school appears to most Cherokees as a White institution, designed to enforce compulsory integration of Cherokee children with resident Whites and with White society at large. It is my contention that the response of Cherokee children to public education is a product not only of such obvious burdens as the demand that they learn about a foreign society in a foreign language. It is the product, as well, of a value conflict, in which they perceive as personal violations pedagogical practices which are regarded quite otherwise by most of the Whites and the few assimilated Halfbloods engaged in formal education.

Cherokees in School

The small rural schools of northeast Oklahoma are far less "total institutions" than most urban American public schools. Yet the quiet submissiveness of students in the predominantly Cherokee classroom is striking to the outside observer. Students from the first grade on whisper, either with the teacher's permission or without it, but do so with restraint. They are extremely obedient and cooperative in carrying out the teacher's instructions, and respond to the slightest suggestion from her regarding the next task to be undertaken. Their muted, whispered socializing, soft but not truly surreptitious, is not merely an indication that they know the White teacher will allow it. The youngest Cherokee schoolchild has already learned that such quiet interaction is the proper form of behavior around respected adults. His noise level in class is a transposition of behavior from such Cherokee contexts as the church, where he has been present during adult services from his earliest years.

Yet the persistence of this quiet submission, and the interactional limitations it implies, express more than an extension of Cherokee behavior to a foreign situation. They are a response to the specific nature of that situation, and to the quality of the Western interpersonal relations which are imposed within it. Only the very youngest Cherokee students seek out individual interactions with the teacher, volunteering their own creations and their own opinions. After the first two grades, Cherokees cease to volunteer anything of themselves to the teacher, as teacher, unless that teacher is very unusual. I observed a first grade Cherokee, in the process of learning English, bring to the teacher a list of words that she had independently copied from a speller, but such behavior does not usually occur in the later grades. On the other hand, White and Halfblood students continue to engage in such voluntary interactions throughout their grade school years. For example, I was present when first and second graders were reading a story about a rooster. In response to the teacher's question, almost all the students present raised their hands to indicate that they had roosters at home. But only two boys, both White, began to offer comments on their roosters, their other pets, how they made their dogs obey, and so forth. On another occasion, a White second grader came to the teacher to announce that his book was torn, but that he intended to mend it with scotch tape. But only one Cherokee in the first four grades of the school which I observed intensively ever engaged in such behavior, volunteering, for example, news about an egg hunt as Eastertime. He was also the only Cherokee who communicated to the teacher unsolicited observations about his progress in learning, as: "Miss X, I've done page 56 already," and "Miss X, I said 'magic' up here [in the reader] ."

Cherokees do communicate with the teacher. They ask questions regarding assignments, although this practice becomes less and less frequent as they advance in grade and age. They may, again especially in the lower grades, ask the teacher for permission to engage in honored activities, as, "Miss X, may I pass out the folders?" or "Miss X, may we have a board race?" (It is significant that these requests may be described as attempts to involve oneself in group activities, either as a leader or a participant). And Cherokee girls in the lower grades will ask to run errands for a female teacher, or invite her to join them at jacks and hopscotch. But these are generally also group activities, and they are all "extracurricular". It is the desire to establish individual learner-teacher relationships which is so strikingly absent among Cherokees.

A similar contrast emerges in the kind of "tattling" engaged in by White and Cherokee students. It is Whites who inform the teacher of errors in the behavior of other students: "Miss X, Soandso's got words in her folder!" or "Miss X, Soandso was on the road [at recess]." Significantly, only one Cherokee, the same third grader referred to above, engaged in this kind of tale-bearing. In contrast, Cherokee "tattling" (for it is perceived as such by the teacher) consists almost exclusively of complaints regarding injustices suffered by individuals and their allies, largely as a result of rough physical treatment on the playground. Or it involves the request for assistance in childhood crises ("Miss X, Soandso wet his pants.") which require adult care. Cherokee "tattles" are not designed to advance the student's standing in the teacher's eyes at the expense of other students. (They may, however, enhance one's social status in Cherokee eyes). Rather they are attempts to solicit teacher aid in reducing interpersonal violence and to engage in maternal attention.

But the major orientation of Cherokee students is rather through their siblings, their extended kin and, in the age-stratified classrooms of Western Schools, toward their peers. They appear much more solicitous of each other's needs than do Whites of the same group: more often sharing readers than hogging them; more frequently assisting their seatmates in completing their assignments; sharpening pencils for each other; passing out blank paper to others; warning another that his fly is open; emptying the pencil sharpener; passing and sharing playthings (although there is some competition for access to scarce resources such as the crayon box). This largely cooperative and solicitous behavior is even more evident in the upper grades (5-8), where the Cherokee students' interaction with the teacher are even more reduced; and where more mature students are capable of more complex tasks. There, a great deal of independent student behavior goes on with little or no reference to the teacher, much of it behavior which is essential to a well-functioning classroom. Assigned student jobs include checking books in and out of the library closet and cleaning up after school hours. More striking is the amount of cooperative effort devoted to such unassigned tasks as repairing each other's books, spraying for termites, boys assisting girls in opening windows and adjusting blinds, all without the teacher's overt recognition or approval. Observing the upper-grade classroom, I concluded that the students regard it as their own place, the locus of their own society, in which the teacher is an unwelcome intruder, introducing irrelevant demands. It is rather as though a group of mutinous sailors had agreed to the efficient manning of "their" ship, while ignoring the captain and the captain's navigational goals.

Cherokee students not only succeed in establishing, within the classroom, a social system exclusive of the teacher. They also attempt, in the lower grades, to restructure the social context of the learning process itself. In so doing, they substitute for the competitive emphasis of White schools a system of social learning which is peculiarly Cherokee. This is most strikingly exemplified in the reading sessions of the lower grades, in which students are asked to read aloud in turn, either seated at their desks or standing in the center of the room. It seems at first remarkable to the outside observer that students stand with great poise and self-assurance, and are rarely overcome with embarrassment even when scarcely able to recognize a single word on the page. But this lack of embarrassment is contingent upon a prompting practice which the other class members initiate the moment a student has been called upon to read, indeed, even before he has found his place in the book. Prompting continues throughout his return, whenever he displays the slightest hesitation over a word, so that the performance of a poor reader consists of a series of prompted words, dutifully repeated after the participant "audience" (cf. Wolcott 1967: 104).

An excerpt from my classroom observations will demonstrate the quality of these reading sessions:[7]

> After lunch: "Alright, let's finish reading our story. Bruce, I believe you were reading." Prompting begins immediately, while Bruce (2) looks for his place. "Go up there and show him the place, David." Wally (1) also tries to go up. "My goodness, there are a lot of Davids!" Wally gets back in his seat, grins

> sheepishly. Bruce reads poorly, wants to stop ... David (Wl) reads; a great prompter but a poor reader. Two stories are assigned for tomorrow; Lucille (Ml) tells the name of one, with the assistance of Mike (1), who knows the word "parade", and Wally, with prompting, reads the name of the other, is proud.

A casual observer might assume that this prompting behavior is an imitation of the teacher's practice, for it is true that she too prompts the student reader. But she does so only when he is completely unable to proceed, and often finds it necessary to intervene to restrain the prompting of the students. In fact the occasional prompting of the teacher is merely a cover, or a license under which students can proceed to carry out their own procedures. Teachers are unaware of either the roots or the meaning of this behavior. When I enquired of one lower-grade teacher, she replied:

> "It's something they developed, by themselves, I didn't. You notice that I have to restrain them sometimes, so they'll give a fellow a chance. But I feel it's good, it keeps them on their toes."

Significant here is the teacher's perception of the activity as competitive, when in fact it is nothing of the sort. Clearly, this Cherokee reading session is modeled on Cherokee literacy learning in the church. The sociological meaning of these sessions has been totally redefined. They are no longer exercises in which an individual demonstrates his competence, gaining experience and confidence in public presentation while the teacher evaluates and the pupil audience, sitting passively, learns by example. They are rather, insofar as the students can make them, communal learning exercises, in which individuals alternate between being supported by their peers and in turn demonstrating their competence as efficiently supportive peer-group members. This profound modification results in a collective, rather than individual, demonstration of competence. In this Cherokee learning process, the practice of social competence in support of one's peers is of equal importance to the learning of English reading skills.

Teaching Matter and Method

Observing the phenomena described above, one is led to the conclusion that a major disruption has begun to occur in the Cherokee classroom, even in the lower grades. Students' refusal to relate to the teacher as individual learners and their attempts to restructure learning as a group activity indicate that they have already begun to view the teacher as at least irrelevant, if not actively hostile, to the schoolroom society. And this is true even of the superior teacher, who may be respected and valued as a person. As early as the third grade, Cherokee children are learning that they must abandon group prompting in the reading sessions, and instead raise their hands for recognition as individuals. But the alienation of student from teacher is far more marked in the upper grades. This progressive alienation can be best understood by an examination of two aspects of their education, namely the subject matter, and the techniques of teaching employed.

In the rural public schools of northeast Oklahoma, general school operations may be flexible and informal, but subject matter is usually highly formalized, and its presentation is rigid, relying heavily on rote learning and evoking neither group nor individual creativity. As subject matter becomes more complex, its divergence from everyday life becomes more evident. Indeed it must appear to students, and perhaps sometimes to teachers, as downright incomprehensible. This is critical in a society where neither Whites nor Cherokees, other than school officials, place any value on the facts and operations learned in school. With the exception of sports, education is valued for its extrinsic rewards alone, that is, its role in obtaining adequate employment.

The following excerpts from classroom observation in the upper grades demonstrate not only the quality of the subject matter, but teaching methods as well:

> "Okay, fifth grade, let's hustle and get this done. Were there any problems? Any of you get stuck? Let's wake up. Turn to page x. This is old stuff, but it's extremely important. How many of you think you have a pretty good grasp of the eight principal parts of speech? What you have to do is to recognize them in everyday life."
>
> "Get this in your head,. conjunctions go to subordinating clauses like prepostions go to prepositional phrases," says the teacher, explaining the uses of "like" and "as" to Ruth, who got her sentence correct anyway.
>
> Kay
> Kay (8) is working on equations. She nods when the teacher speaks to her, in an embarassed and annoyed

> fashion. "Some number which we call n, divided by 4 is equal to 7. We know what the answer is, don't we. But we must be orderly about this and follow established procedure."
>
> "The simple subject has to be a noun or a pronoun. This is a rule. Two and two is four, a simple subject has to be a noun or pronoun. They're both rules."

Teachers rarely ask the student for his own explanations or opinons, although they may ask him to recite "explanations" provided by the text. It is rather the teacher who tells, and his explanations are by no means always comprehensible to the students. Errors are wrong because they are wrong. Thus, learning becomes the memorization, recitation and application of Rules, without regard to their necessity or relevance for the rest of life.

However, it should not be assumed that students have become uninterested in learning. That their curiosity and enthusiasm for many areas of formal learning has not yet been destroyed is clearly demonstrated whenever the teacher's control is withdrawn and learning becomes a voluntary process. The following is a description of the behavior of a first grader, one of the poorest in performance, during a third grade reading session in the same room:

> Wally has gone over behind the reading circle, in front of one of the heaters (it's chilly today; teacher allows this ocassional standing by the heaters). He

> talks to Gordon (3). ...Now Wally comes to the teacher and asks her for something I can't hear; returns to Gordon, hangs over Mike (3), who is sitting next to Gordon. David (W1) has turned round in his seat to listen to the story. I see Wally silently lip reading the page of the 3rd grade reader over Mike's shoulder! Jack (2) is over there to now, talks a bit to Gordon. Now Jay (1) is standing behind Mike, following the reading. Jack leans on Gordon too, with real intent interest. Gordon is laughing and joking quietly but these two are not, they are reading. He tries to joke with Jay, but Jay, too, isn't interested.

On another occasion, the performance of a first grader during an arithmetic "board race" revealed that he had learnt third grade multiplication from his older sister.

The following interation involved one of the poorest English peformers in the upper grades, operating, according to achievement tests, almost a full year behind her grade level in reading and language skills:

> Recess. Rachel (7) comes over to me the minute class is dismissed and hands me a piece of paper: "Would you like to see how some Cherokee words are written?" She has neatly written them in Cherokee syllabary and in English. I show interest, she rapidly moves back to her desk and gets the Cherokee primer, and brings

> it to me. I ask her if she learnt to write Cherokee at home, or just from the primer.

And, after a particularly painful history lesson on the chapter, "The Indians are Pushed Westward," during which the teacher repeatedly tried to evoke individual opinons from unresponding students, the teacher was called from the room:

> The students talk softly. ...no one leaves the history circle. The girls in the history circle are pointing at the map, talking Cherokee, but have developed a game, testing themselves; one of them casually writes "Louisville" on the board beside the map. One whispers loudly, "You're not supposed to tell the name of the state." The word "Gadsden" is written on the board.

Most illustrative of student enthusiasm is an unusual situation regarding library books. Recent federal funds have enabled some schools to supply each classroom with an excellent library, and teachers often allow access to the library throughout the day, in addition to overnight checkout privileges. The surprising result of this free access is that the majority of students, especially beyond the third grade, are avid readers -- within this voluntary context - although over two-thirds of them show marked deficiencies in reading and English comprehension, both in classroom performance and on standardized achievement tests. The following excerpt from my classroom observations illustrates not only the intensive library use, but the amount of intense, though exceedingly quiet, general activity, characteristics of the upper-grade room. (There are eighteen students in the classroom,including one seriously retarded who is omitted from this record).

After recess: There is a bit of whispering, but the kids settle down. Roy (M 7) asks a few questions about when his papers will be graded. Ernest (M 5) works in his notebook, the 8th graders read, play with books, Jake (5) is writing his math assignment. Felix (W 5) gets a book from the library. Roy stares into space, Jane (5) is reading, Kathy (5) is organizing her books. Jake and Roy read comic books (these "educational comics" are part of the library collection): Gene (M 5) and Felix are conferring over a book... Wayne (8) is reading a library book, his partner is playing with some cards. The girls in back are whispering. Martha (7) and Patricia (7) go to the library for books.

Now the two 8s, Wayne and Walt, have traded books, Walt is fooling with his clipboard. Walt whispers to Wayne, who is reading a green library book. The comic book readers, Roy and Jake, are totally absorbed. Now Walt passes a note... Jane and Kathy are reading, absorbed. Felix and Gene still confer over a book. Ernest is restless. Walt now gets Wayne's attention, he's writing another note. The girls behind are writing one. Steve (5) seems to be reading but I can't see. Rachel (7) is writing (a note?) and her neighbor is reading.

10:45. The green book is returned to the library closet via Kathy's desk: she is in charge of checkout and return. A girl from the rear gets a library book, Wayne takes out another in the green science series: *Flowers*. He and Walt look at it. They give the cards to Kathy as they pass. Walt reads a note, grins, writes, turns around and passes it. He confers with Martha. The noise level rises. Now Martha is openly talking with him, while he reads the *Flower* book, Wayne gets another on *Fishes* in the same series from the library. Ernest starts to read a big red library book. Beatrice (6) comes to get a piece of paper. The 8th grade boys look at the fish book, the comic book readers are still intent and quiet. Felix goes to the library. Roy takes his comic book to the library, sits doing nothing, talks a bit to Jake.

Martha gets some paper. Roy is now reading Jake's comic book Jake does nothing. Kathy gets some paper. the 8s are involved in their science book. Teacher is called to the phone.

Now the teacher returns and helps Kay (8) at her desk. Wayne shows Jake some sharks in his fish book. Most of the whispering is from the rear of the room. Felix and Gene and the girls, but right now the girls

[illegible] library [illegible]

> > are quiet. Felix and Ernest return their library books. Jake and Jane are conferring at the bulletin board. Teacher calls Steve and Felix from the library; they have been there too long. Felix is now checking out a library book. Steve is hunched over his workbook. Wayne peeks at his fish book, then returns to his math book. Roy has given up on participating in the math lesson which has just started, and is reading his comic book, but has his math book open.

This chronological segment concluded at about 11:20, thus covering about one hour. Throughout the period, except for the brief moment noted, the teacher was present in the room, working with other students. On another occasion I recorded:

> Of the 16 students in the room at the moment, 9 are reading library books. After observing this phenomenon for several days, I commented in my notes:
>
> > The library usage is interesting: all the interest shown, especially in science by the boys, is completely ignored by the teacher, not capitalized upon. But then, he'd probably kill it if he touched it. These kids are using books to fill their boredom in the classroom situation. At least some of them seem to have become serious readers: perhaps this is a good way to teach kids to value books and not have the negative label of school placed upon them!

But more significant than rote learning in determining Cherokee student responses are the teacher's restructuring of the social context of learning, and his mode of interaction with individual students. Less parentally solicitous of their pupils, upper-grade teachers define them more and more as task-responsible adults and, with the exception of athletics, school activities are structured to minimize cooperative behavior among peers. Students are more often and more severely discouraged from sharing their learning problems with each other. Rather, they are expected to perform individually, publicly, without outside assistance or emotional support. They are expected, indeed, to compete and to invidiously compare, to judge and be judged not on the basis of their total personalities, nor their sensitivity to other's feelings but on the basis of their ability to perform alloted tasks in allotted periods of time. Older students experience a loss of autonomy as the teacher assumes an ever more authoritarian role, engaging in more ordering, direct questioning and testing, all of which demands an individual response. Consequently, social interactions with peers are increasingly divorced from the formal learning sanctioned by the teacher's supervision. Thus, to a 7th grade Cherokee, the teacher says:

> "Now Rachel, I want you to keep one thing straight: keep your mouth shut, but when you have a question, ask me. You don't even have to raise your hand, just ask me. But for the last six months you have to talk to Patricia. I appreciate Patricia's intelligence but if I wanted

> to know something from her, I'd ask her. I expect you to at least show me the respect due me as your teacher and answer the questions I ask you." Then he sends her to the board. She works rapidly, her answer is wrong, she is clearly very angry, though silent.

Not only is task-responsibility the key to adulthoood in the White teacher's eyes; he expects it to be engaged in with enthusiasm. A science lesson illustrates the teacher's attempt to elicit positive responses from students, on the premise that learning must be fun.

> He tells them to look at the thermometer at the store during lunch, and he will teach conversion during study hall. Then they can convert from Fahrenheit to Centigrade. "Isn't that right? This is kind of fun, isn't it?" No answer. "Huh?" No answer. "It's gonnna be a lot of fun."

Should the student fail to comply with these demands, powerful psychological and physical sanctions are employed against him. He is subjected to loud public verbal abuse, derogating not only his classroom performance but his general character, appearance and prospects. This is excessively shaming to a Cherokee. And as a last resort, the Oklahoma teacher may employ the paddle, engaging in the final physcial violation of the Cherokee child.

These negative sanctions can be seen in operation in the following extended interaction between a White male teacher and a fifth grade Fullblood boy.

> A math lesson has been underway for several minutes. Jake is giving an answer: 43 and 600 tenths. "Come

to the board. You sound like Gene sounded yesterday." Beatrice (6) comes to get paper out of the teacher's desk, faces me and stares at me without smiling. The room is stone quiet. Jake, at the board, can't write 43 and 6 one-hundredths. "Do you study at night?" "Sometimes." "You really study at night? How much? Let's be a little more specific." "Two hours." "Two hours a day, a month, a year, a week?" Jake nods at "week." "Would you like to know what happens to people who don't study? You really want to know? 'Cause I can't make you study, You always bring your homework in like this, and most of it's wrong." He calls Rosemary (5) to the board, making Jake stay there. She does the problem of writing the number in decimals, correctly. Jake's face is sullen. But he writes a number correctly now. "Now you've got it correct. Do you want me to tell you why? Because you watched Rosemary and your mind was thinking. That just shows you what a little study can do for you." But he is given another and can't do it.

"You may take your seat, Jake. I'm very disappointed in you. You haven't studied. No, Jake, I'll tell you what I'm going to do. (Teacher's voice becomes more markedly in accent). If you don't learn this by Friday, I'm gonna give you ten licks. Because I'm mad. I've been good to you, too good. But now the ole board is gonna talk. I'll tell you why I'm mad. One of these days, I'm gonna see a boy who's going to Johnson City to get his commodities from Welfare, because he's too stupid to get a job. I don't want that to happen to you. You're not stupid, you're sharp. You have a good mind. That's why I'm mad. You better shape up."

Jake is sitting pressing his fingers in his eyes to try to keep from crying. Only an occasional soft sniff is heard. No one has the discourtesy to look at him. All is silence. except for the teacher's lecture.

"I remember a little boy up at a nearby grade school in the third grade who was smart. And in the fifth grade, what happened to that boy? It hurts my pride, because this is the first year you've ever had me. Those tears, that you're shedding, they don't mean one thing to me. You're gonna come in at noon today and at recess, and tomorrow. If Alfred and Rosemary can do it, you can too."

"Jake, I'm gonna hang with you again because something's on my mind." He calls on him for two answers. Jake gets two right, through choked voice. They aren't decimals but some sort of math problems. "Did you have help on these?" (No). "Then is it just decimals that are giving you problems?" Jake's hands go to his eyes again. Teacher keeps asking Jake for more answers. He gets all right, once off of the decimals. "Was this just carelessness, from working too fast," asks the teacher, in regard to the decimal problems, " or something you've been doing wrong and didn't know you were doing wrong?" Mumbled: "Carelessness."

"How many got all the answers right?" Alfred's hand goes up. He asks about the others. Rosemary missed 6 out of 24. "Jake, I want you in here immediately after lunch. You can mess around until I leave the cafeteria, then I want you in here." Alfred is called to the board. He is good at math, but nervous, stoney-faced. "That's very good, Alfred, very good." He returns to his seat, expressionless. Felix (W 5) is called. He can't write 5 and 615 ten-millionths (neither could I). He gets it finally, but the answer is wrong for the problem he had to do. "Does anyone see a mistake?" No one sees his borrowing error. Kathy (5) is called on, does the problem. Rosemary is called, gets one right.

It's lunchtime, the other students in the lower grades can be heard leaving. Roy (M 7) starts to gather his books, so does Kathy. No one else makes a move. Teacher is still at the board. No one can read the answer to Rosemary's problem, including Rosemary: 5.0329875. Rosemary, called on over and over again, begins making wild guesses, shakes her head in confusion. "Can't you just say five and three hundred....?" the teacher asks in desperation. She tries but can't even repeat the numbers in the right order. Shaking her head, she's completely disoriented by now. He gives her a number to write and read. She can't read that either: 643,540. Alfred is called on, reads it correctly, finally. "How many of you agree with Alfred? How would you read it, Gene?" He reads it incorrectly. Jake is pointing his finger at the places, trying to figure it out. "How many decimal places do we have? Alfred was right, wasn't he?" He makes Alfred repeat it, Rosemary repeat it (she stumbles but gets it almost right), and Jake, who reads it correctly.

The class is excused for lunch. Teacher retains Jake. He begins to talk to him. "Now Jake, you're a good friend of mine, but.....When your teacher can't help you, maybe the "board of education" can. You know what the "board of education" is? It's that little ole cherrywood paddle, isn't it? You're a smart boy, Jake, and a friend of mine. You've

> got a great personality. You may not be the best looking boy in the world, but you're a long way from being ugly. But you're so hard-headed. You're so hard-headed sometimes I think there ain't a bull as hard-headed as you are sometimes. I'm not bawling you out now, I'm just talking to you. I know what the trouble is, I bet: do you have some girl friends....?"
>
> "I'll work with you 24 hours a day, Jake. If you come to my house at 3 o'clock in the morning, I'll work with you, though that shouldn't be necessary. Now with decimals...." And he begins to discuss the math.

If the treatment recorded above seems unpleasant to a White student, it is excruciating for a Cherokee. Admittedly, the instance is extreme, even for the particular classroom under observation. Yet, in its extremity, it demonstrates some rather characteristic modes of interaction by White Oklahomans, especially in superordinate-subordinate relationships, and will serve to clarify the extreme responses of Cherokee students to be described below. Here, the teacher has trespassed upon the Cherokee self in several ways (and in regard to several students). He has exposed and shamed the fifth grader by derogatory remarks about his academic performance, his intelligence and his appearance. He has held him up, over and extended period, for public scrutiny by his peer group. He has insisted repeatedly on verbal responses from the boy, indeed has forced a confession from him. (Likewise, he has forced the student's embarrassed peers into competitive action against him). And he has threatened him with physical punishment and a low-status future. Nor has he given cognizance to the meaning of the boy's tears, and a Cherokee boy of eleven does not cry easily. This coercive treatment is intolerable to a Cherokee, and everyone in the room but the teacher knows it.

Caught in a compulsory net of meaningless learning and forced response, older Cheroke students are at the same time increasingly aware of the impingement of adult values on their schoolroom life. For the community at large, school officials, and even their parents agree on the necessity of a high school diploma for successful adult life in modern American society (although parents may be more sceptical of its value than school officials). Under great pressure to achieve academic success, students find that such success is obtainable, for most, only through the sacrifice of their personal integrity. What appears, on the part of the students, to be indifference, in the face of these demands is rather their continuing attempt to preserve their integrity as Cherokees.

Corporal Punishment: A Major Value Conflict

I have said that Cherokees strongly disapprove of physical violence, except under special and rare circumstances. The approved use of corporal punishment within the school systems of northeast Oklahoma constitutes, therefore, a point of extreme conflict in values between Cherokees and Whites, which highlights the more subtle conflicts already outlined. It is not easy to obtain firsthand observations on this practice, as it is not a daily occurrence, and most teachers probably tend to abstain from the practice in the presence of an outside observer to whom they impute a more 'progressive' attitude. Yet they do not deny engaging in it on occasion. However, complementary data on corporal punishment were obtained from another source, namely interviews of Cherokee parents conducted in several rural communities. Most of the children of these parents have had a relatively stable history of attendance at one or more of five public schools within the districts surveyed. Three of these public schools are rural, and two are located in small towns, one of the latter being consolidated with a high school. In addition, a few have attended a local religious boarding school, public schools in neighboring counties, or Federal boarding schools.

In response to the questionnaire item, "Have the children ever been punished or whipped in school? Why?," few parents mentioned any other form of punishment, although some referred to such means as extra homework. This must indicate that students do not find such other means so unbearable; I believe that their parents share this view. Such punishments are more easily seen as merely additional requirements to make up learning deficits, whether they are so in fact or not. Interviews reveal a wide variance in the frequency of whipping. One small rural school did not engage in it at all; one town school had a reputation for frequent whippings. Where teaching standards are lax and little actual instruction is given, physical discipline is used little or not at all. Where there is more concern with academic standards, it is more common. Even within a given school, individual teachers of course vary greatly, and "mean" teachers are widely known by name as whippers throughout the Cherokee community.

The most common means of physical discipline (and probably the most approved by school officials) is the wooden paddle, but other means are employed: rapping palms or knuckles with a switch or stick, and blows of the bare hand to the child's face. Among English-speaking Cherokees, "whipping" is a general term designating all such forms of corporal punishment, and it is used as such in the following discussion. Questionnaire responses were obtained covering 170 children, from Headstart preschoolers to 12th graders. Interviews were conducted in Cherokee by a resident Cherokee mother, and recorded by her in English.[8] In quoting the statements of respondents below, I have made a few alterations, mostly in matters of number and tense, but have tried to preserve in large measure the quality of the interviewer's original transciption. The English, although largely hers rather than the respondents', is at least more accurate in tone than my re-translation would be.

It must be emphasized that these data reflect parental knowledge and parental perceptions of corporal punishment, not actual events per se. Admittedly, I have no certain evidence of the validity of these reports as descriptive knowledge. I am however inclined to accord them such validity, because of the generally detailed understanding of school events displayed by Cherokee mothers, which reflects a high amount of feedback between Cherokee child and parent, and because the reports of Cherokee parents accord with what I observed and learned myself, both in school and in discussions with several teachers and Cherokees (including one Fullblood teacher) with whom I established rapport. Yet it is, after all, perceptions that we are here concerned with. The fact that large numbers of Cherokee children experience corporal punishment in school is of no import except in the context of Cherokee values, as a phenomenon evoking student resentment and deep parental concern. The statements of parents are as important as the numerical data. Futher, I must assume that parental statements are a reliable guide to the feelings of the children was well. Students cannot be assumed, anywhere, to report accurately at all times the causes of punishment. What we can more safely assume is that they report accurately their sense of grievance, whatever its basis in fact.

Of the total 170 students, 74, or over 43%, had experienced whipping in school. Of this number, half (37 of 74) had had experience which were perceived by the parent as to some degree unjust. Admittedly, it is not always easy to classify parental responses in this regard, and I have had to rely on the tone of recorded statements. An example is the following:

> Dean has been punished and whipped before. He failed to take the book from the locker and also he got whipped because he had worked on workbook while the recess. The teacher punished him. Just for that.

About two-thirds of these whippings (n=22) were for failure to pass a test, or related behavior: the student couldn't get his work done on time, didn't write his name on his homework, etc. Whipping for scholastic failures occurred as early as the third grade.

Eight of these 37 whippings are described as due to inability to understand the teacher. It is significant, in this bilingual context, that all but one of those for which a grade attribution is given (5) occurred in the 1st or 2nd grade, the last occurring in the 6th grade. Many Cherokee mothers recognize the especially difficult position of their non-English-speaking children on entering school. Said one:

> About the little children when they went in first day in school. The teacher is really getting on to these little ones. Because these little ones didn't understand any English so the teacher whipped them and punished. They don't teach what they should. I guess because it's Cherokee Indians.

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Another mother offered a solution to the problem of non-English-speaking entering students:

> I would like to see the Cherokee Indian teacher to be with the White woman teacher when these primary children start to school. Till they are not afraid around the White teacher. Why I am saying this, I have known lots time past these little ones when they started to school. The teachers are really mean to them just because these little ones don't understand what the teacher said. So when they are old enough they won't be afraid to be around the White teacher.

Other cases within this category are reported as the result of trivial infractions undeserving of severe discipline, or vaguely referred to as the result of the teacher's meanness. Also included are an unjust accusation of theft, a student unjustly singled out for misbehavior on the school bus, a student who worked on his workbook during recess (quoted above) and a small boy who refused to wear a girl's dress in the school play. Reporting on the experience of her four year old daughter in a summer Headstart program, a mother said:

> She quit before she finished. 'Cause she got whipped too much from the teacher. She was afraid to go back to school. The teacher don't trust her like she should. She turned around one time in her class. The teacher

> started [to] whip her with her hand. She slapped her face and neck. Then she was afraid to go back to school. She went just two weeks. Then she [was] afraid to go back to school so she quit.

This excerpt is notable for the clarity with which it expresses the Cherokee concepts of childhood autonomy and of trust. It was the child, not the mother, who made the decision not to return to school.. because she was not "trusted."

Thus 22% of the total student sample has received at least one whipping viewed by the parents as unjust. Leaving aside those mixed and borderline cases in which the reasons for whipping were unclear or multiple, a little over 14% of the students (24 out of 170) have received whippings which were regarded by their parents as to some degree deserved. It is surely significant that these transgressions included talking and whispering in class (n=7), which may well be regarded as disrespectful by Cherokees, and mistreatment of another student (n=7). These two categories comprise well over half of the cases of deserved whippings. That students may concur in the justice of their punishments under such conditions is illustrated by the following statement:

> Winfield has been punished and whipped... when he was in public school, and he said it was his own fault. He was fighting with the school children so his teacher punished him.

Also reported without parental objection were playing in class (n=3), running off from school (n=2), being late for class and saying a nasty word.

Although corporal punishment is certainly only one of many factors discouraging the Cherokee student from high performance and long continuance in school, it is seen by both parents and students as a cause for dropping out. The following excerpts from interviews illustrate this view:

> When these school children get failed [on] the test, they get whipped by the teacher. That's why there is a lot [of] Cherokees are afraid to go to school. The way the teacher treat them. That's what my brother happened when he quit [going] to school. He dropped out 10th grade. He got whipped from a teacher named X. He just failing a test. So he said, the teacher is really rough on me. I am going to quit going to school and I think Dad needs me more than [to] get [a] whipping in school.

Another mother spoke of her daughter, recently dropped out after completing the 11th grade:

> She dropout because her teacher didn't like her. Her teacher fought with her. The reason is, she was late to be in her classroom, so when she come in the teacher grabbed her and she started [to] whip and slap her face with [her] hands. So she got mad and quit school. She said if the teacher was good, then I guess I would be graduated, too, like my sister did.

And a teenage girl, present during an interview, remarked:

> I never [have been] punished or whipped in school, ever since I had to go to school. If they do, I would quit going to school. I won't go back, if they do.

Two emotions emerge, I believe, from the extended statements of Cherokees regarding corporal punishment in school. One is an expression of fear, fear of the student facing the White **teacher**, who is known to include this practice within his pedagogical repertory, and fear of the mother for her child. The latter fear is expressed by a mother speculating regarding the school to which her children were being transferred in the fall:

> All I'm waiting [for] is what they're doing in Warrior rural school . Some say they don't like X's wife. One man told me they whipped a little first grade boy who didn't understand.

The other emotion, marked in these interviews in which Cherokee spoke to Cherokee, but rarely expressed to Whites, is one of grievance over continuing injustice. Many complain merely of the partiality or arbitrariness of teachers in meting out punishment, that is of injustice in their choice of one student victim over another:

> Everett has been punished and whipped in school last year. Just because he was talking in his class with other boys, so when the teacher is ready to whip the

> boys he picked on just two boys, Everett and other one boy. And the rest of 'em, they didn't get whipped.

But beyond this is a more general sense of grievance, over the treatment that students receive as Cherokee. Somehow, the practices of White teachers seem far from the Cherokee conception of what school ought to be, and the treatment which their children receive there merges in the minds of many parents with a broader conviction that they are victims of discrimination in a White society. Many mothers, some of whom have been quoted above, gave poignant expression to this conviction:

> There are a lot [of] teachers here in school, they are really rough for these Cherokee People. And I wish I could see these teachers to love these Cherokee children just same alike they love the White children.

In summary, Cherokee parents disapprove, except in the rare circumstances, of the infliction of corporal punishment upon children as they disapprove of physical violence among adults. Because the school persists in employing this mode of discipline, it alienates Cherokee parents, and induces a view of the White teacher as "untrusting" and "mean". Corporal punishment is thus representative of a number of White interactional modes which encourage the Cherokee student to withdraw from formal education, either emotionally, by the subtle means of non-cooperation and feigned indiffernces, or, should these tactics prove inadequate for psychic self-preservation, then by physically leaving the school.

The Integrity of the Cherokee Student

How do Cherokee students maintain their self-respect and the respect of their peers, confronted as they are with the necessity of functioning, as individuals and as a peer group, within the structure of a Western institution whose goals and modes of social control are not only in conflict with their own, but compulsorily imposed? The evolution of their means is a slow process of adaptation of general Cherokee behavior patterns to the specific classroom situation. Maturing students, caught at the center of this cross-cultural conflict, are engaged simultaneously in learning on two fronts. On the one hand, they are acquiring from their own community an understanding of appropriate Cherokee conduct, which includes both an increasingly acute awareness of those social behaviors defined as violative, and the means by which Cherokee avoid and defend against such intrusions. That is, they are learning to be Cherokees. On the other hand, they are discovering as they advance in the school system the degree to which that system is offensive to their Cherokee integrity. For educators are encouraged to be intrusive, as we have seen. Consequently, student responses are most marked in the higher grades and in high school, where fully socialized Cherokees engage in evolved, elaborated responses, arising out of long years of learning about themselves and the educational system, and continual attempts to resolve or adapt to the conflict between the two.

Yet it must be recognized that teachers, too, attempt resolutions of this cross-cultural conflict. Their behavior undergoes modifications, as does that of students. Unfortunately, an upper-grade or high school teacher with an average amount of aggressive desire to evoke appropriate student reactions, and a normal White threshold of discomfort in the face of disapproving silence, will usually undergo changes in the direction of greater, rather than less, violation (in Cherokee terms) as his sense of failure and rejection grows. Long-standing teacher-student confrontations thus may become classic examples of Batesonian schismogenesis (cf. Bateson 1935).[9]

Subjected to direct questioning by the teacher, older Cherokee students give minimal verbal replies. Answers are almost invariably so mumbled that an observer sitting within a few feet of the interrogated student cannot hear his reply.

> Roy (M 7) is called on next; he answers with a ruler in his mouth but does well. Patricia (6), when called on, mumbles and misses several. "Martha, give us the contractions on Test No.4 You didn't do it? Did you try to do it? Did you have time to do it? What?" She may be mumbling but I can't hear a word. Rachel (7) is called on; she mutters so you couldn't understand her unless you had the book to follow; but she has them all right.

But the majority of the teacher's interrogations may receive no reply whatsoever (cf. Wax, Wax and Dumont 1964, chap. 6). Two classes of events are involved. First, the least cooperative students pursue a consistent policy of non-response, rarely answering even those [illegible] questions directly pertaining to materials on which they are prepared. These tend to be the most traditional Fullbloods, least oriented toward achievement in White society. Thus:

> Teacher asks Martha (7) which of the ones she missed were not covered yet. She looks down at her book and says nothing. He asks, "Did you miss any in 13, 14, 15?" She mutters, "15." He calls on Martha to read. She doesn't move a muscle. "Okay, Patricia."

Secondly, the majority of students employs mumbling or quiet recitation in answering questions directly concerning assignments, but refuses to answer that large class of rhetorical questions, both academic and non-academic with which the despairing teacher fills the silence of the classroom, but which students regard as irrelevant. Likewise, they refuse to answer questions which seem to them probings of their inner emotional privacy.

> Roy (M 7) is asked a question: "Do you think this is going to help you? Do you think you're going to do it the way I showed you?" He leans back in his chair and says nothing. Teacher: "Alright." Roy grins at Jake.
>
> "Kay, did you have any trouble identifying your participial phrases? Walt, did you have any trouble with this assignment? Did you catch the idea, Kay, that the whole phrase may be considered as an adjective? Do you feel tathat this assignment was easy?" There is no verbal response to this outpouring. He then tells them what to study....

> "How many of you went to the Quarterly Meeting yesterday? At church?" Very few raise their hands [although most were probably present]. "Was there plenty to eat? Tell me what they had to eat, Patricia." No answer. "What kind of bread did they have? Did they have bean bread? Evidently you didn't eat any bread. Were you there, Walt? Beatrice? Goodness gracious!"

This sounds at times like a conspiracy, but it is not exactly that. Rather, each student has come to perceive which interrogations he must honor in order to maintain the minimal academic status acceptable to him, and to avoid open conflict with White authority. In the Cherokee classroom, in contrast to the Sioux classroom described by Wax, Wax and Dumont (1964) or the Kwakiutl classroom described by Wolcott (1967), there is very little attempt by students to control the behavior of their peers.

Nor will Cherokee students reward the teacher's attempt to solicit enthusiasm for school and learning. I was present at a dramatic demonstration of this refusal:

> Jake (5) is mopping the cafeteria under the teacher's supervision Teacher asks him if it's fun. He says, "No, it's work." But later, not long afterward, teacher has gone off, and Jake is still mopping, now in the kitchen. The White cook engages him in conversation as he works, about how different it is today, on clean-up day, than school on most days. He volunteers, "And more fun, too."

Even the teacher's attempts at humor, or humorous incidents involving the teacher, draw no response from the Cherokee, once he perceives that laughter would imply approval of the teacher. Humor is manipulative; laughter is the dropping of one's defenses. Yet there is much quiet humor between students throughout the school day, some of it even at the expense of the teacher.

> "A fraction is like an overweight woman; it is always trying to be reduced." Kathy (5) smiles at this but no one else does.
>
> "How many told your parents of the pie supper? How many are sure your parents are coming?" Most raise their hands. He makes a joke: "How many are sure their cousins, aunts, uncles, grandparents are coming?" No one laughs.
>
> The teacher writes a problem on the board..."What are you going to borrow? Borrow one? Is it hitting you now?" Gene (M 5) nods. As the teacher works at the board, the Atlas of Human Anatomy wall chart hanging on a nail above him begins to fall off on his head. Not a soul laughs.

Only in one class, led by a sensitive and gentle Mixedblood teacher, did I observe Cherokees above the fifth grade laughing at the teacher's jokes.

Another means of evading the teacher's intrusions is nodding. This appears to be a minimal recognition of the teacher's existence, and the sound of his voice. But the observer feels that even this gesture is distasteful to students, being a compromise between total emotional honesty and the pressures of the situation. Thus:

> The teacher discusses the 7th graders' assignment. He

> looks at Martha (7) as he speaks; she nods ever so slightly. She has her workbook out.

And:

> Kay (8) isn't listening to the teacher, but nods when he looks at her. To Wayne (8), the teacher looks at Kay, but she turns away and looks in her book when she doesn't want to give a sociable answer.

Thus, Cherokee students refuse, beyond a certain point, to engage in that common student pretense of comprehension in order to avoid the teacher's attentions. There is a fine line drawn here: while nodding and raising hands are approved when used in moderation, verbal hypocrisy or even the too-frequent use of these gestures is frowned upon. Cherokees, in other words draw the line of permissible compromise at a different locus than do White students (whose classroom ethnography may be found in Jules Henry 1963, and John Holt 1964). Consequently, one of the most striking differences between White and Cherokee students is the readiness of the latter to admit that they do not know. For example:

> Andrew (5) reads; he's hard to understand. He is called to the board, works a problem, gets "4 hours, 91 minutes and 6 seconds." The teacher reads it off: "Is this your answer?" Andrew shrugs his shoulders and says, "I don't know."
>
> Walt (8), daydreaming, is called upon, looks at his book. Wayne (8) has been following, though. "Is this the way you would do it, Walt?" "I don't know," he mouths,

> embarrassed. "Well, that's an honest answer. Go to the board, please." Walts gets almost all the way through the problem and doesn't know what to do next. Patricia (6) is called to the board to show him what he did wrong and works efficiently, completing the problem. Walt waggles his head around when asked if he understands.

The most extreme Cherokee responses of defensive withdrawal occur when teacher-intrusiveness is directed toward a single individual or a small group, as he questions and examines those in close physical proximity to him. In these awkward situations, when a student stands alone at the board or at the teacher's desk, or when a small recitation group is drawn up around the teacher, the total-body responses of adult Cherokees to highly threatening interpersonal behavior are vividly enacted in the classroom. The incidence of nervous gestures, such as rocking in the chair, tapping of hands and playing with pencils, and of nervous coughs, seems higher than among White students subjected to intense and persistent attentions. So is lowering of the eyes to avoid the direct gaze of the teacher.

> "Okay, Beatrice, you may bring up your workbook." Teacher goes over her work at his desk. She sits on the edge of Roy's desk; when the teacher looks at her, or when he asks her to recite, she nervously strikes her palms against the edge of the desk. But when he isn't directing his attention at her, she's calm.
>
> But even more striking is this:
>
> "Okay, 7th grade.....Let's bring our chairs up to the front of the room." There are four 7th graders, Roy, a Mixedblood,

> Martha, Rachel and Patricia... All except Roy are not really facing the teacher: their chairs are, but their bodies are twisted away. Rachel and Roy read, mumbling, halting... As the teacher talks, he looks at the students. Rachel bows her head before his gaze, Patricia nods at a question, turning and dropping her head. Patricia reads with her head bent, facing the blackboard, rushing through the material until asked to slow down. ...Martha reads now very softly; she doesn't answer a question asked her.

The behavior is observed as early as the 5th grade, and becomes near-universal by the 7th and 8th.

> "Okay, 7th grade, take your chairs up to the front."...The teacher asks Rachel for correct answers. She has a slight private smile on her face, is a bit self-conscious, sticks her tongue out, but does okay. Martha has her back turned almost fully to the teacher, though her chair is facing him.
>
> "How many of you missed No. 4? Gene's (M 5) hand is up. Rosemary (5) sits with her body turned away from the teacher. She is following proceedings, though, and seems to have learned to look at the teacher to pretend interest.

Silence, mumbling, nodding, avoidance of eye-contact and turning the body away are standard adult Cherokee defensive behaviors which are employed by Cherokee young people in the classroom in an attempt to preserve their psychic privacy from the intrusions of teachers. In the short-run context of the classroom, these means appear successful. They do succeed at any given moment in reducing the amount and duration of teacher attention focussed upon any one student. They do demonstrate to the student and to his peers that he is not totally submissive to the foreign authority of the school system, that he retains within him an autonomous and private core.

But these defenses are also communications. They are, indeed, very loud and persistent communications. But they are unheard. Oklahoma White teachers, by and large, do not understand what their Cherokee students are saying, and do not modify their behavior accordingly. On the contrary, their increasing exasperation and helplessness, more often results in more and more extreme White behavior, that is, in more extreme violations of the Cherokee self.

There is not space here to discuss why the White teacher cannot hear the Cherokee student; how the total social, economic and political context decrees that he must not, and how White society provides the teacher with a complex mythology by which to misinterpret his own perceptions. Many teachers do see Cherokee students as different from Whites, but most see that difference as a Cherokee "problem" of "shyness ." So that the conclusion must be that these Cherokee means of self-defense are, in the long run, no solution at all. Day after day, year after year, students must still subject themselves to the school's attempts at intrusion and control, must prepare and present their defenses. The psychic strain of this demand soon grows intolerable. Unable to indulge either his natural curiosity or his social desire for education as a means to advancement, the average Cherokee must feel, by the 8th grade, thoroughly exhausted. Other pressures and temptations mount: financial needs, increasing awareness of his educational handicap and his socio-economic inferiority, increasing social, sexual and marital involvements outside the classroom. It is not surprising, then, that most Cherokees abandon the fruitless and painful experience soon after they are legally able to do so. Total withdrawal from the school system is the final act in defense of Cherokee feelings of integrity. The scepticism of these students about the value of education must be great. And their general assessment of the emotional costs of future ventures into White society is not hard to imagine.

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NOTES

1. This essay is a product of research sponsored by the University of Kansas, under contract with the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education, and directed by Dr. Murray L. Wax. Firsthand data were gathered during six months' residence in a rural, predominantly Cherokee community in northeastern Oklahoma, and included one month of classroom observations in the two-room public elementary school which served it. In addition, I visited several surrounding communities and their schools, and collected through Cherokee assistants over a hundred interviews of Cherokee parents. My own data have been supplemented by those of other members of the project, especially the classroom observations and student interviews of Robert V. Dumont. All personal and place names referring to the field situation are pseudonymous.

2. For a recent critique of these concepts, see Roach and Gursslin 1967.

3. A valuable discussion of the notion of self-concept (closely similar to the idea of integrity elaborated here) and its application to the experiences of Harlem Negro students is Fuchs 1966: 139-169.

4. The term "fullblood" is used here sociologically, to refer to members of primarily Cherokee-speaking communities who are so identified by their co-residents. Although there is, of course, no value to the term as a biological designation, it is true that the structure of Oklahoma society has ensured a fairly close correspondence between modern Cherokee racial identity and sociocultural Cherokeeness.

5. My understanding of Cherokee values has been greatly aided by discussions with Robert K. Thomas and Albert Wahrhaftig of the Carnegie Cross-Cultural Education Project, University of Chicago.

6. I am indebted to discussions with Albert Wahrhaftig for much of my understanding of traditional Cherokee learning.

7. In this and subsequent excerpts, the numeral following the student's name signifies his grade. White and Mixedblood students are indicated by "W" and "M" respectively; all others are Fullbloods.

8. I am deeply indebted to Mrs. Lucille Proctor for her gifted and dedicated interviewing in a situation of great difficulty. Without her collaboration, this study would not have been possible.

9. As Fuchs (1966: 162) has remarked, "We may ask, 'What of the other side of the coin?' What about those teachers thrust into situations where children with difficult behavior patterns and antagonistic attitudes confront the teacher with demeanor and deference patterns that attack their selves? We recognize that this happens and in some cases may indeed by the precipitating factor in the kinds of negative teacher behavior our informants described." An evolution of teacher attitudes closely similar to what I observed in Oklahoma is recorded in Kendall 1964, a firsthand account of one teacher's experiences with Los Angeles Negro pupils.

III THE HOUSEHOLD SURVEY

Population and Schedule

A standardized interview schedule in Cherokee and English was developed by Dickeman and Proctor. As was indicated above, Dickeman was able to supervise personally only the earliest interviewing, and the burden of responsibility fell upon Proctor who, herself having but a sixth grade education in a foreign language (English), relied more on her native wits than the customary conventions of social surveying. Thus, in many interivews, when the schoolchildren were themselves at home, they were allowed individually to respond to the questions concerning their relationship to the school, and these responses were recorded separately but attached to the household schedule. That this was done was not at the direction of a professional researcher but rather a manifestation of the autonomy that is expected of the children and that is a traditional value of Cherokee society. Again, that the survey represents a precise number of households but a less precise number of individuals is a manifestation both of the social organization of the Tribal Cherokee community and of the problem of taking account of transiency and generational mobility. Many families discussed the school experiences of children who were now married and lived elsewhere with families of their own; these persons are included in our tallies only when household interviews were in turn conducted with them. In general, we have estimated the population interviewed on the basis of those who were residing "permanently" in the particular household. Nonetheless, some imprecision remains in our figures, but we believe that with this caution the reader will find considerable value in the analysis that follows.

Before proceeding to discuss the attitudinal materials which were the focus of the survey, we might try to characterize the population and compare its status on various measure with those obtained by other investigations conducted within the region. As is evident in Table 3.1, most of the adults in this population had dropped out of school at an early age (many of the girls to marry). Only two of our respondents had gone beyond highschool and, in both cases, this amounted to one year of college. A good many of the elderly had never gone to school, and, even among the middle aged, some had attended so briefly and erratically as to elude any statement of the exact level of achievement. It may reasonably be assumed that the grade achievement of the eight per cent of non-respondents on this question was below the median levels here computed (male 5.1; female 6.5).

For comparable data, the reader is referred to the chapter on educational achievement. However, we might mention the results of the survey conducted in a different area of the region by the Carnegie Cross Cultural Educational Project, which showed median levels of 5.3 male, 5.8 female. Our Table 3.1 can also be compared with Table 3.2 which presents the figures obtained by J. Ross Underwood (1966:81f) in the course of a survey conducted with the aid of an interpreter during June,

1965. Underwood had used the Cherokee County Census of Indians under the age of eighteen to draw a random sample of one hundred households, and he then secured the educational achievement of the heads of these households. When a median is computed from his data, it shows a level below four years. Unfortunately, he did not present the ages of these household heads, but if we may assume that they were aged thirty or more, then his data are substantially in agreement with those of the Carnegie Project, since the latter gives a median of four grades for persons aged thirty to fifty-nine, and zero grades for those older (Wahrhaftig 1965:36).

The language spoken by children from these families at the time of entry into school is shown in Table 3.3. Of the population under consideration, less than one-tenth reported their children as monolingual speakers of English and only one-quarter reported them as bilingual. (The personal experience of this project staff would lead us to be skeptical of claims by adults for genuine competency in both English and Cherokee, as in most cases the spoken English of persons whose primary language has been Cherokee has impressed our observers as barely servicable, a judgment which would be anticipated from their inadequate opportunities for developing more refined dialects.) Accordingly, well over half of the remainder of this population -- and perhaps as high as two-thirds -- are predominantly speakers of Cherokee, so that their children enter school speaking "a little bit of English" or none at all. These figures may be juxtaposed to those of Robert M. Cullum (1953) which showed that within the households surveyed 40.9% usually spoke English, 58.0% usually spoke Cherokee, and only 1.1% were bilingual. Our more recent survey shows more children who are bilingual on entering school, but as many (if not more) children who are predominantly speakers of Cherokee. The figures obtained by our project may also be compared with those obtained by Wahrhaftig in his 1963 survey where he found (1965:12) that the "language usually spoken in Cherokee households" were was solely Cherokee in from 53% to 83% of the households surveyed in four Tribal Cherokee communities (Hulbert, Cherry Tree, Marble City, Bull Hollow -- in ascending order), while a bilingual situation prevailed in from 34% to 11% of these households, and monolingual English in the remaining 6-17%. Correspondingly, Underwood found that of his household heads in Cherokee County, fifty-six per cent spoke only Cherokee, forty-one per cent spoke only English, and only three per cent were bilingual. I am tempted to believe that the higher figure which was obtained by Underwood for monolingual speakers of English signifies that his sampling procedure yielded a higher proportion of Cherokee who had moved out of the Tribal community, while the Carnegie and KU surveys concentrated on persons who were resident in such communities.

These various figures provided by survey type research acquire further significance from ethnographic observations, such as those conducted by Wahrhaftig and Dickeman. They observed that the primary domestic and ceremonial language of the Tribal Cherokee continues to be Cherokee. Not only at the Nighthawk (stomp ground) ceremonials and not only at most of the churches of the Cherokee Baptist association, but at other ceremonial and political gatherings, Cherokee is the language of discourse, and English is seldom utilized, even as an alternate. The individual who would participate in these communities must speak Cherokee fluently, while the individual from within these communities has the opportunity to acquire a fluent English only via such means as prolonged schooling, or a hitch in the armed services, or some other kind of prolonged submersion in the English-speaking world. Since the schools which serve the Tribal Cherokee lack any organized or sophisticated program for the teaching of English as a second language, children can move through most of elementary school without acquiring any but the most primitive degree of oral fluency. However, the Tribal Cherokee, both children and adults, are adept at concealing their deficiencies in comprehending and speaking English, and many local Whites, including teachers, are given to overestimating their fluency. Be that as it may, these tables confirm what would otherwise be inferred from the procedures used by the interviewing team in surveying the population, that the results present the attitudes and notions of a culturally enclaved, economically depressed people -- the same or similar to those surveyed earlier and independently by Cullum and Wahrhaftig.

Educational Achievement

Before proceeding further with the findings of the survey, it is useful to remind readers of the data reported in earlier chapters concerning the educational achievement of the rural Indians of this region. Data gathered by the U.S. Census, by the Carnegie Cross-cultural Educational Project, and by J. Ross Underwood serve to demonstrate and confirm the pattern of early dropout and low achievement. Underwood examined the school registers for Adair, Cherokee, and Delaware Counties. Looking at the enrollment figures by grade level for the year 1965-66, he finds (Table 3.4) that Indian enrollment in grade eight is 387, in grade nine is 264, and in grade ten is 169 -- a decline to less than fifty per cent. That the decline is not an artifact of a skewed population pyramid is evident from comparison with the registers of the proceeding year, as these show a nineth grade enrollment of 253, which would signify that 84 pupils were lost in the transition from grades nine to ten (either within the grade or in the transfer from junior to senior highschool).

In addition to dropout, we have good reason to anticipate a pattern of overagedness for grade level. The details of this discussion need not detain us here, except that we might point out that the overagedness does not constitute so much of a social problem for the child in the context of a rural school with a multi-grade classroom. But, that when the child is transferred to junior highschool and finds himself conspicuously overaged as compared with his peers -- and subjected to regulations which would be appropriate for his juniors but are insulting to him -- then he will have good motive for withdrawing from school.

This picture of dropout during secondary school is reinforced by the data gathered by the household survey on the grade completed by school leavers, aged sixteen and over. For Cherokee aged sixteen to twenty-one the median grade completed was 10.2, while for those in the next five year interval, the median was 10.0. In neither case can we assume random distribution properly surveyed, but it is significant that the data presented by Wahrhaftig show (1965:36) a median grade completion of eleven for those aged eighteen to nineteen and of ten for those aged twenty to twenty-nine. Both surveys agree that Cherokee children are receiving considerably more years of formal schooling than did their elders and both (with Underwood) point to a dropout process which has effected half of the youngsters by the tenth grade.

How is it that our survey came to include data on these young adults who have completed their schooling? The answer is clear: they stand as a mute testimonial to the inutility of educational achievement. They are unemployed and without vocational or educational prospects. Let us see how the respondents presented the issue.

Aspirations and Realities

Behind the tabulations we have presented is a complex social reality which is hard for the researcher to comprehend, except on the most superficial level, and harder still for him to communicate to a total outsider. The cultural world of a tribal people -- economically depressed, socially degraded, linguistically isolated, politically victimized -- is difficult for a comfortably situated alien to enter. When it comes to schools, vocations, and aspirations, we scarcely know how to frame questions that will be meaningful to these people and deserving of their attention.

The Tribal Cherokee do communicate their ambivalence about the educational process -- their hopes and their cautions (Table 3.5). The principal value of an education would be economic: its recipient would be able to secure a job -- a better job, a job secured more easily, an easy job, indeed any job. With this goes the implication of independence (self-support), and particularly of no longer being dependent on welfare and subject to its vagaries and demands, and even the utopian notion of "an easy life". Associated with these basically economic orientations are such notions as the general utility of knowing English and so of being able to negotiate for a job or otherwise to deal with Whites. And, finally, there is the notion that education offers a path to improvement of the self as a responsible social being. In none of these positive responses is there a notion of the value of abstract knowledge, but rather of an education brought into the service of some pragmatic goal.

Yet a small but significant group (17%) of the responses serve to deflate these economic justifications:

> Interviewer: In your opinion what is the main reason a person should get an education?
> Respondent: I guess they would be ready to go working at the Chicken plant and baby-sitting. That's all they do. I know a lot of educated people among the Cherokee who didn't get a job; they couldn't find one.

Education is useless. There is neither hedging nor qualification. The answer instructs us of economic conditions in the region and suggests the web of poverty and discrimination which ensnares the Cherokee eager for maturity and independence.

If the primary value of education would be vocational -- as indeed the Cherokee are continually assured and exhorted -- then what if there are no jobs for the educated Cherokee? The answer is logically plain: there would then be no reason to invest the hours and energies of the children and the funds and other support of the family."Education for what?" recurs throughout the responses of the survey -- to process chickens and to baby sit? -- the child might as well remain home! We do not contend that most of the Tribal Cherokee are so disenchanted with the ability of the school to act as a vocational preparatory ground, but an attitude of this sort which is already apparent among a significant minority may be crucially influential among the young people when they are struggling with the agonies of school life and when they look beyond the classroom walls and see those who might be models -- older and educated -- unable to employ their skills.

At the moment, those who perceive schooling as an enforced process of assimilation (as the respondent below) tend to believe in the economic pay-off. But, if they should come to realize that there is no pay-off but only a continued poverty, then they might have excellent reason to withhold their children from the schools:

> Well, I think it just fade away, this Indians, before long. All the white people live in Oklahoma -- is the way I see. Also I think they are trying to get rid of this Indian -- to forget their own language. And so they could find an easy job and be easy to talk English where they could listen when they ask a job, and the white people will understand what this Indian want, when they are educated enough. [I think that Indians are disappearing

> and that soon Oklahoma will be completely White.
> I think they are trying to destroy the Indians,
> beginning with the eliminating of their language.
> and instructing them in English so that they can
> easily find employment and better understand what is
> being asked of them and tell Whites what they want.

Either way is bitter despair: either education is useless, leading nowhere but to the occasional and menial labor of working in the chicken processing plant, or it leads to the forgetting of one's language, of one's ethnic identity, and of one's self.

Yet the Tribal Cherokee have not abandoned faith in the educational pathway. There is in the following remarks an almost messianic hope for an educated Cherokee who would help his people, even if there is the covert recognition that such a redeemer is well nigh an inconceivable paradox, inasmuch as the educational process turns him to be against his own:

> "I'll say they could have an easy job and an easy life for their own good, and also they could help their own people who don't understand English. They can translate English and Cherokee both. There is a lot of Cherokee Indians in our country who don't talk or understand English, and the white people were cheating on the Cherokee just because they couldn't understand the English, or whatever the Whiteman said.
>
> They will do whatever the white many says, even

> if they don't understand. They tell you, sign your name and the old Cherokee will sign X in his signature. That was it. And the White man will get what he wants from the Cherokee Indians with the signature.
>
> I know. It has happen a lot of times. I wish we could have Cherokee who could have a good education, who could help his people. But it sure is hard to find one that can help his people when he has a good education. It is hard for him to be on his own nationality side. He would just be against his people.

Hopes and Costs

> I sure do like to see my grandchildrn to get graduate in highschool, if I can afford it for their clothes. The clothes is so high priced -- even shoes. and the schools -- they wear high priced clothes and shoes when they were in high school. They get ashamed when they were in high school.

The aspiration is toward white collar jobs and careers, even the professions: few are the mentions of technical or vocational training. Given that the respondents are themselves poorly educated and only marginally literate in English, the aspirations are so high as to be classified as illusionary. And since the Cherokees are throughly practical, they themselves provide the bitter comment that deflates:

> They just give up -- lack of clothing, just hard to find better clothes for schooling. That's what [illegible]

> happened to me. I guess we Cherokee are
> wishing too much when we are in school,
> but unable to get a thing we wanted, and the
> White people get what they want because they are rich
> people, and we Cherokee are not. Just wishing,
> that's all.

In our monograph about the Sioux (Wax, Wax, Dumont 1964: 49-53), we theorized that clothing in and of itself was not the crux. In the elementary grades where rural Indians from a common neighborhood associate with each other, dress and adornment is but one of the arenas of rivalry, and the child who ranks highest thereby asserts the wealth and status of his elders, as well as their regard for him, not to mention his ability to wring their favors. But, for the boys, warrior traits also bring respect from his peers and perhaps a more significant variety of deference. Be that as it may, the issue of clothing becomes swollen when rural Indians are transferred to a town highschool. For on this alien ground they confront children who have decisive superiority, whether in scholastic performance, school politics and influence, or savvy about the life of the town and city. An Indian pupil who might scholastically have been performing reasonably well--judged by the standards of the rural school **and** compared to his peers -- now must realize keenly the inadequacies of his English fluency and his scholastic preparation. In difficulties now with his academic subjects, derogated by school administrators, and generally degraded in the social hierarchies of the school, he responds to the exhortations of his elders by blaming the deficiencies of his clothes. Especially the young ladies, who are struggling to construct a social identity for themselves and to present to their audience a self that is attractive, find the lack of parental funds and the absence of sophistication in the elder generation to be grave handicaps in the competitive area of mid-adolescence. Even more significant in these arenas where persons of different physical types are mingling is the derogation of Indian traits, so that the girl who is dark of skin and otherwise branded as "Indian" finds that these are ineradicable markers of her inadequacy. She can only give voice to her lack of clothes, while her parents, anxious that she remain in school, strive to scrounge funds, materials, and garments.

When parents are asked how much schooling they would like their children to obtain (Table 3.6), the high level of their hope is often discounted by a companion response (Table 3.7) indicating their awareness of difficulties and pains and impossibilities. "If we could afford it" predominates:

> If I could support her, I would like to send her through college, but we have failed the oldest of our children. But we finally made it for Anne, she is in Haskell. If I could afford them, I wish they would got through four years in college.

Meanwhile, something under a fifth of these respondents mention the children themselves: their own desires; their abilities to withstand the pressures school exerts upon them, and so on. These parents are reminding us of the autonomy of the child in traditional Cherokee values and, perhaps also, directing our attention to his plight within the school system. Yet, despite these qualifications, the startling fact is that nearly half express the wish that their children receive a college education and an additional large number wish for highschool graduation. For a people so impoverished and whose children experience such difficulties in the school system, this pattern of responses is phenomenal. At the present time, few of the children endure throughout the highschool trials and almost no one completes college. The hope for education is almost religious.

Language and the School

It is a truism to note that there must be communication between teacher and pupils; without dialog there can be no education. Yet the language of the teacher and of the curriculum is English and the language of over half the children entering the school is Cherokee (Table 3.3 and related discussion above). Clearly, if educational progress is to be made with these young children then either the teachers must acquire some fluency in Cherokee, and curricular materials must correspondingly be developed, or the children must be given an intensive program in the learning of English as a second language. Ideally, both developments would be necessary, since the problems encountered by a Cherokee trying to develop fluency in English can be comprehended most easily by someone familiar with the phonetics and syntax of the primary language. Elsewhere in the U.S. and involving other nonEnglish-speaking groups, such programs have been coming into full bloom, so that, for example, Miami now has a school which is evenly balanced in curriculum and student body between English and Spanish. But educators have a long tradition against according recognition to the alien language of a subordinated people, and those of Northeastern Oklahoma have responded to the problem of teaching children whose native language is Cherokee by absolving themselves of responsibility or concern. Implicitly, their attitude is that the responsibility for coping with the situation lies elsewhere, most likely, among the Cherokee parents themselves , i. e. if they would give up this backward habit of talking Indian, their children would make more progress in school. Northeastern State College at Tahlequah trains many of the teachers who serve in this region, but when in 1965 the Carnegie Cross-cultural Educational Project offered the services of a professional linguist (Dr. Willard Walker) to teach a course in Cherokee, the Regents were unwilling to regard this as a subject deserving of college credit. Elsewhere, we have noted the bitter travail of the social worker who, in response to community requests, attempted to place within the PHS Clinic some signs in Cherokee, complementing those already in English. Thus, the most fundamental problem encountered in educating Cherokee children remains far, not only from solution, but even from consideration on the part of local educators.

The Cherokee parents themselves understand very clearly the situation of their children on entering the school, and a number of them suggested appropriate changes in the educational arrangements:

> "We would like to have a better teacher in the school. One who they can do better teaching
>
> ...

for the Cherokee Indians. Some Cherokee Indian. is hard to learn to talk English -- some are hard headed and they couldn't catch it right away, how to read, write and speak. Cherokee are not all the same -- Some were easy for it."

* * *

"We would like to have Cherokee teacher in each school where the little ones start in the first year in school, because the little ones some of them, they they don't talk English. In our school, here, it is alright where George goes. Also we would like to have a Cherokee book teacher."

In default of action by the schools, the issue of language devolves upon the Cherokee parents, and it is plain from the tenor of their responses that many of them have carefully considered the matter and deliberately selected the primary language or languages of the child. As is evident from Table 3.3., most elders tend to feel that if the child is to learn to speak Cherokee, he must do so as his primary language and within the domestic circle; whereas English he will acquire in the course of his schooling. As one parent remarks, "No they don't speak English when the children entered school -- they took it up after they started school. The father doesn't allow children to speak English at home till they can speak good Cherokee." Another parent stated, "No, I think the best way for Cherokee kids is to learn Indian first, then English afterwards, so they can talk both."

There is considerable logic to this position, as without a fluency in

Cherokee, the child will be alienated from many of his senior relatives and would be unable to participate in the ceremonial activities of his local community.

On the other hand, Cherokee elders are very knowledgable about the hardships suffered on entering school by those children who have no knowledge of English whatsoever, and it is very plausible that most of the families who say (Table 3.3) that their children knew "a little bit of English" -- and a considerable proportion of those whose children were said to be bilingual -- had in fact encouraged this acquisition of English. The amount of English signified by this acquisition can easily be overestimated, and "a little bit" can be very very little: "Jane knew a little bit -- her name, how old she was, and what her mother's name was." "Roy had just a few words he could understand in English and the youngest one was all right, because the oldest teach them when they were little." The pattern of the older children, enrolled in school, drilling the younger in the basic responses that he will need during his first week of school seems frequent.

In a variety of different ways Cherokee adults and children, themselves knowing but little English and that of poor quality, attempt to instruct the younger generation in some basic English phrases. But it would be a grave misinterpretation that this activity represents a wish for assimilation of the child or a desire that he cease to be a Cherokee; it would equally be erroneous to conceive that the Cherokee tutor of English wishes to assist the school in the accomplishment of its tasks. The older generation knows that the experiences of the child entering school without English can often be awkward and sometimes traumatic or even brutal. Teaching the child some rudiments of English protects him from embarassment and from the wrath of teachers who do not comprehend his plight. Paradoxically, then, the knowledge of English strengthens the child in his Cherokeeness, for it enables him to cope with the demands of the alien authorities.

The older generation of Cherokee are willing, even eager, that their children acquire fluency in English, for they recognize that it will ease their way through school and will facilitate their acquisition of good jobs. Without fluency in English, their children will be sorely handicapped for the remainder of their lives. With this environment of parental encouragement, the schools could conceivably develop some markedly successful programs for instructing the children of Tribal Cherokees in English. But since the schools have no curricular materials and most teachers lack any competence in the art of teaching English as a foreign language, the Cherokee pupils drift through elementary school without acquiring the necessary fluency. From classroom observations, it was apparent that, even in the upper elementary grades, proficiency in English was minimal and in some cases non-existent, while at any grade level the lack of comprehension was sufficient to impede classwork if not bring it to a halt. Typically, these classrooms could be characterized as a small aggregate of English speaking pupils in continual discourse with the teachers while about them was a silent group of Cherokee. True the Cherokee children are more often reticent in class than their White counterparts, but the linguistic handicap is plainly visible. If, then, the school is not performing satisfactorily at its most elementary level -- the instruction of English -- we must inquire as to what indeed it is accomplishing.

The Harmony Ethic in the Classroom

The teacher who steps before a room of Tribal Cherokee pupils is separated from them not merely by language but also by a difference in moral norms. The native Whites of the region share a strong individualism and emphasis upon aggrandizement of the self. Indeed, the rural schools of the region have often been expressions of such individual enterprise, inasmuch as they constitute a device by which an enterprising individual or pair of individuals could secure a living through claiming monies from governmental agencies for the handling of Indian pupils. Be that as it may, the native White morality stands in marked contrast to the Harmony Ethic which governs the conduct of the good Cherokee. Following Robert K. Thomas, Gulick has characterized the ethic in these terms (1960: 137, 139_:

> In living from day to day according to the Harmony Ethic the Conservative Cherokee tries to avoid giving offense to others and in so doing, he must always "wait and see what the other's likes and dislikes are, and... perceive what demands are likely to be made of him." ... Thomas characterizes this demeanor as being particularly sensitive to subliminal cues in overt behavior . . . . Whereas one actively maintains Harmony by giving of one's time and goods, one can passively maintain it by "minding one's own business." If everyone consistently minds his own business, it is clear why the recognition of the needs

> needs of others (calling for active generosity) can only be achieved by acute sensitivity to the cues of others.

In this fashion, Tribal Cherokee counterbalance a respect for the autonomy of the individual with an active concern for harmonious and peaceable relationships. Since children are accorded a similar degree of autonomy, what this means is that the adult dealing with them must be sensible of their needs and wishes and must avoid an authoritarian intrusiveness: the adult must allow children to mind their own business but he must be prepared to assist them as they encounter difficulties. This should not be an impossible task for most teachers, even those reared in Oklahoma Whiteman's culture, but it would require much more restraint than they have been accustomed to exercise and it would require more respect for the young than normally they would allow White children of corresponding age.

To the foregoing is added a crucial addition, namely (Gulick 1960: 139):

> Self assertiveness, which is probably a concomitant of self realization, appears to be quite foreign to the Conservative personality, presumably as an ego-ideal, and most certainly as a form of social behavior. The assertive individual is offensive in terms of the Harmony Ethic. This applies not only to aggressive behavior but to any form of drawing attention to oneself.

Yet most techniques of classwork require the assertion of self, and demand that a child expose himself before his peers either in excellence or failure. Typically, the teacher singles out a particular child for attention and conducts with him an intensive interaction while the remainder of the class constitutes a watchful audience of peers. For Tribal Cherokee, it is exactly such individuated interaction -- with its emphasis upon the self of the student -- that is morally most troublesome. Only when the self becomes subordinated, as when the individual has become the representative of a band of his fellows, can the child perform in solo fashion happily before an audience. Thus, in the arithmetic race between two teams of pupils, where the members of each team work successively at the board competing with the other to complete wthe problem most rapidly, Cherokee derive great satisfaction. Victory manifest the competency of the team, and the individual performs for the service of the group. In contrast, during normal classwork, individual Cherokee go most reluctantly to the board to work alone and before the observant gaze of their fellows. Even by the eighth grade, Cherokee students find this display and exposure of self distasteful; unless they can restructure the situation according to their own norms, they will be highly uncomfortable, and, failing such a restructuring, they may remain silent and passively resist the attentions of the teacher.

In the classroom, the manifestation of these Cherokee norms is highly visible by contrast with the conduct of students of Oklahoma White background. After a short period of time the observer can close his eyes even within a strange classroom and merely by the timbre and loudness of the voice distinguish Cherokee from White among the students. Or, without the ears, one can distinguish the two groups by their response to a question addressed by the teacher to the class as a whole. White students compete for the attention of the teacher, and the hands that are raised soon become frantically waving signals of the desire for public attention. The Cherokee students wait, and, although they raise their hands, rarely will they wave them; among their youngest members, it is sometimes obvious that there is an impulse to wave -- for these little ones the care of the teacher is much desired -- but among the older ones, restraint is predominant. The differene in ethos sometimes leads to intriguing divisions of labor between the two ethnicities among the pupils. In one class of primary grade pupils, a Cherokee girl wanted a box of crayons that was located in the back of the room where the observer was seated. Cautiously and deliberately, she estimated the motions and exposures that would be required to secure the box. The teacher, who was working with another group within the classroom, had instructed them not to move. So the Cherokee girl bargained with the White girl seated besider her, and the latter moved boldly and with somewhat of a flaunting expression to the rear of the room and secured the desired box.

How Teachers Relate to Cherokee Pupils

The meeting of the teacher and the Cherokee children is rife with opportunities for trouble. The failure to communicate exacerbates the culturally different approaches to teaching and learning, so that as Dickeman points out, the classroom becomes an arena of social conflict -- a conflict that is most severe when the children are youngest. The tension that has come into being in the primary grades does not lessen as the child ages and acquires more fluency in English and more familiarity with the ways of teachers. Rather it goes undercover, as the child learns to defer to the teacher and to comply superficially with what is being demanded. The classroom becomes an intricate study in varieties of silence, a stillness which represents, not only the lack of fluency of the pupils, but their defence against the intrusiveness and authoritarianism of the teacher. The latter finds that, while he has no problem in securing the appearance of order -- so that there is almost never the challenge to his authority by noise and commotion as among boisterous White children -- he cannot utilize that order as the basis for educational achievement. Armored by their silence, the spirits of the children elude the networks of curricular programs.

Many of the teachers derive from the local area and have been raised all their lives among Cherokee. But the acquaintance which they have so acquired is similar to that which many Whites of the Deep South have about Negroes: it is a ritual of caste and not a comprehension of humanity. To the average White of northeastern Oklahoma, the Indians are not so much members of a culturally (and linguistically) distinct community as they are simply inferior -- culturally, socially, economically; and acknowledging their uniqueness would be to challenge the social order. Correspondingly, then, the experience and training of the teacher have left him without genuine knowledge of his Cherokee neighbors and with no awareness that there is either knowledge to be acquired or that there would be any utility to his acquiring it.

Roughly speaking, educators respond in three different ways to these intercultural difficulties. Many find that the educational task is beyond their capacities while their social isolation permits them to relax into a comfortable lethargy. They resort to the traditional devices of busywork, of minimal direction so long as everyone's face is saved, and of dismissing class whenever there is plausible reason. : occasionally, they will give forth with a spiritless monolog. Little more need be said, except that the children and parents experience this teacher as "nice" but -- and this may be startling to those who think of the Cherokee as indifferent to education -- they do not overlook the neglect of learning. Given that the Cherokee are reluctant to criticize publicly,, the following is a strong statement:

> The teacher treat this child nice and (but) she don't teach like she should. The teacher don't teach nothing. She don't care if they learn nothing!

A second group of educators responds aggressively to the situation. Unable to comprehend the reality of cultural differences or the handicap of the pupil struggling with an alien tongue, they transfer to the classroom the attitudes they would assume toward White pupils deficient in performance: implicitly, they regard the Cherokee children as either stupid, incompetent, idle, or malingering. They must teach and the pupils must learn, and the starkness of this confrontation generates a classroom atmosphere crackling with anxiety. In the seventh and eighth grade classroom of one rural school, Dumont observed a teacher who was well aware that what she was doing was but a pretense of teaching. Each day she attacked anew, and each day her ire was roused as the students seemingly would not permit her to achieve what she had to do -- teach. For her the experience was traumatic, and she might indeed have been an excellent educator among the English-speaking pupils for whom she was prepared. But her determination to teach could not be gratified, for it was linked with a determination to conquer, and so she could not pause to analyze the real nature of her daily catastrophe. She and her students needed a miracle, and miracles seldom occur in school classrooms.

A corollary to the foregoing two responses by educators is the educational surrender: keep them in school until the eighth grade and then turn them loose. This was the advice of professor of education on the faculty of a regional college which is primarily oriented toward producing teachers. He agreed that the local and informal rural school was important to the children of the Tribal Cherokee and that consolidation to the larger and impersonalized town school would undercut an educational achievement that was of some modest significance. For him, this analysis was not pessimistic but a realistic assessment of the potentialities of the Cherokee and the abilities of the educators to guide them.

The third and rare response was that of the teacher who recognized the cultural difference between himself and the students and who struggled to cope with this staggering complexity. When our staff observed such a teacher in his labors, it was apparent that the greatest handicap of the classroom was the linguistic difference, but it was also apparent that both the teacher and the students had acknowledged this and were struggling to communicate across it. While the class could still have utilized expert linguistic assistance, nonetheless lessons proceeded with a quickness amazing in its contrast to the conventional Cherokee classroom, and -- most dramatic of all -- the students were talking in the class, participating freely in organized discussions. We will be discussing the nature of the successful classrooms more fully in a subsequent section, but as a final note on this trio of responses, we might comment that, of course, these are pure types and some classes experience their share of all three modalities of interaction, with the third mode being the rarest and sometimes breaking forth like a ray of sunshine that warms all the participants.

The tragedy of these rural schools is the lack of preparation of their teachers, for they are no worse than teachers elsewhere, and, other things being equal, they would like to perform their jobs competently. But they do not realize their own ignorance and, coming from a parochial and constricted rural background, they have no understanding of what it is to be linguistically and culturally alien to the school and its teachers. The teachers require special skills, and yet because the Tribal Cherokee are politically oppressed, there is no one to present their educational needs. The parents can express their desires only through such media as our household survey:

> We would like to see our children that go to school do something like the teacher has done when they went to school. They learned how to be teachers and then children could go in the footsteps of what they have done, trying to be teachers. So we would like to have good teachers in our school for our children where they can be good students. All I am asking is to have a good teachers in our community school, where our children go, because they sure do have a hard time in school. They have a hard time to learn anything that they should, The Cherokee Indians -- it's hard to understand the English to start with. The teacher has to explain well; understand, because they are Cherokee We send the children to school to read and write and talk English, not to just get punished.

How striking is this metaphor by which the responding parent relates the learning of the young pupil in the local classroom to that of the novice teacher in the college classroom. Moreover, how profound is the respect for teaching as both dealing with a body of knowledge and requiring the most sensitive interpersonal skills. Indeed, it is plain from the survey responses that Cherokee parents expect too much from the schools: they are as concerned as the proverbal college-oriented parents of the suburben middleclass and, like them, they have instilled their children with the attitudes and habits to enable them to perform well, providing that the school itself is prepared to cope with their special needs.

Image of the Good Teacher

We have remarked that the Tribal Cherokee are surprisingly knowledgable about the schools serving their children. Nowhere is this more clearly revealed than in their responses to the question, "Do you think that there is something that could be done to make the schools better now? What is it?" (Table 3.8). Over half the respondents mentioned improvements that could be made to the schools, and of these by far the largest cluster concerned better teachers and better teaching. As compared to the responses of Sioux Indians of the Pine Ridge Reservation this pattern of responses is startling, for at Pine Ridge, the parents generally took the attitude that the school knew best and that by birtue of their title and role the teachers must be qualified. Again, it might have been assumed that a depressed and enclaved people such as the Tribal Cherokee would have regared the schools as a blessing that was not to be questioned or criticized. Yet only a quarer of the respondents expressed the view that the schools were good as they were, and such affirmations were generally offered in the context of remarks about the tribulations that the older generations had had in attending school and the advantages now proffered the young in the form of programs of clothing, bussing, and lunching.

While the serveral categories of suggestions for improving the schools -- better teachers, better teaching, Indian teachers, etc. -- are significant, equally so is the manner of phrasing used by the respondents. The word, love, appears with great frequency as a way of designating the desired relationship of teacher to pupils, and of how the teachers should act (but seldom did), "love all the students alike, Indian and White." Concurrently, there was a usage of "trust", "understanding", and "giving" (e.g. "teachers gave out to teach the children"). Critically, one parent states:

> Some teachers are unable to love the Cherokee Indian. I wish they could love both Cherokee and white the same -- they should . Because I know some teacher they don't like the Indians. Seems like they have to care more for the White then they do for the Indian. Whenever they are qualified to teach they have to love their kind of people. When I went to school,I knew the teacher love more the White then the Cherokee. When I ask my problem she wouldn't teach me like she ought to.

This statement is impressive, for the speaker has perceived that the act of teaching is set within a cultural framework and when it is restrictively held within that framework then it is of dubious /value for children from an alien culture. With a flair and sophistication that one rarely encounters among the professionals involved in education, these Cherokee respondents pinpoint the cultural discontinuities that afflict the schools in which their children are (forcibly) enrolled.

"Love" vs. "Authority" expresses the cultural dichotomy between Cherokee parental attitudes and those of neighboring Whites. For these latter, the teachers operate within a system of contractual authority. There is consensual agreement as to the tasks which should be accomplished by the school and appropriate authority is delegated by the parents to the educators. Parents have authority over their children and the educator stands in loco parentis. But as is evident in any account of traditional Cherokee society (and its history), authority is not a traditional category of Cherokee interaction, and tasks cannot be separated from the relationships of the individuals performing them. Hence, the Cherokee look first at the relationship between teacher and pupils and unless that relationship is harmoniously balanced and respectful of the autonomy of each individual involved, they will not regard it as satisfactory. For the Cherokee, a satisfactory relationship between teacher and pupil is moral, not contractual, and the authority of the teacher can only be moral (in the broadest sense). Formal teaching and learning can only occur within such a harmonious relation. This does not mean that the teacher has to be morally above reproach, but rather that it is the moral quality of his dealing with pupils which must be primary in his actions. And, it means, even more, that when the teacher acts in the correct manner that then the Cherokee children are there by obligated to assist him in the learning transaction.

At first glance it might be thought that the cultural distance between the two conceptions of the role of the teacher is so great as to be unbridgable, but, it became apparent to our classroom observers that, far from this being the case, the Cherokee children would eagerly participate with any teacher who was willing to adopt the appropriate stance. For these children are trained to value precision and competence and, as we shall be seeing in the next chapter, when given the opportunity, they will participate enthusiastically. Thus, in one classroom that could usually be characterized as a series of levels of silent acquiescence on the part of the Cherokee, the teacher began to approach them in culturally appropriate manner -- with a light and a relaxed bantering tone. Shortly, the students began to answer questions and to participate in classwork in a fashion that the teacher later expressed to the observer she experienced as astounding. The exchange was sustained for about thirty minutes and then was disrupted when the teacher felt impelled to preach to the students about the right ways to behave, while the students quickly retreated into their silence.

Parents (and children) say of the teacher they consider good that "he is gentle, nice," "he treats me good", or "he jokes with us". Often this means that theteacher does not regard himself as a superior authority who by virtue of his position can demand a particular type of conduct or work, but that, recognizing the autonomy of the student, he probes in order to ascertain the areas of difficulty. And, since these are also areas where the student can be humiliated publicly by his incompetencies and ignorance, the tone that is most often appropriate is gentle banter, (altho it can under certain circumstances become the "full razz"). Quite often, it is the tone underlying the words that is crucial, especially to students whose English fluency is poor. Moreover, the silence of the Cherokees can become a trap for the teacher, inasmuch as he tends to respond to it by an excessive verbosity which,, by its indifference to the response of the pupils, aggravates their withdrawal, so that the teacher, in his turn, employs increasing tones of aggressiveness. Since the Cherokee do not recognize his authority, they do not acknowledge his right to be aggressive but judge it as a manifestation of incompetence and lack of emotional control. Thus, there is generated a vicious cycle in which the teacher, finding that he cannot arouse the spontaneous cooperation of the pupils, must increasingly resort to demands, commands, and other tokens of aggressiveness, while the children dissociate themselves still further from what they interpret as a tantrum. Only respect for the other, combined with affectionate regard and trust in a union that the Cherokees speak of (in English) as "love", can reverse the cycle.

Quitting School

When asked why children quit school before completing the program (Table 3.9) the largest proportion of parents referred to the child's experience with the school and, in particular, to his hatred for the school. Love and hate are strong words, and it is these which the

Cherokee employ in order to denote what the relationship ought to be and what it proves in fact to be. "I guess they just hate in school. If you hate something that you don't like, you can't do it; that is just the way you feel." Or, in the calmer words of another parent, they "don't like the teacher and don't get much learning -- what they should -- and teachers don't teach what they ought to." The hatred is closely allied with a comment that the child has repeatedly experienced failure, "I guess they give out to learn anything in school, because the teachers didn't teacher the Cherokee Indians like they should." Sometimes, the hatred moves toward condemnation of the Cherokee pupil, including the self (if a dropout): "I guess they have no use for school and can't find what they want, so they get mad and quit." Or, "they couldn't get better grades, and they didn't work hard enough -- like I did. I didn't get enough credits, that's why I failed to finish. I'm tired of schooling -- over and over -- so, I just quit, and I am now wishing I had a high school diploma, and it was my own fault."

Another major category of reasons offered by parents as to why children left school was the inability of the family to provide the requisite support. In part, they are referring to financial support, but the issue is more than the narrow sense of a few dollars, and it reaches to encompass the whole matter of relative social status, as symbolized especially by clothing:

> I think they didn't have enough clothes that is good enough to school to wear. They get ashamed to go to school with old clothes on. That is the way I was, and,

> also, the teacher don't teach enough to learn anything what, they should, so they give out too easy to learn anything in school. That's why they quit in school, and we don't have a good home either, so I thought that what they look at, too. Poor Cherokee people don't have nothing to help their self.

* * *

> I think this children that quit school before they finished, they think they are old enough to quit, and they thought they had enough education, and, also, they don't have good clothes to wear in school, when they are in high school. So, they get ashamed to go to school. Also, they have to buy the work books, too. So, that is what makes it so hard for this Cherokee Indian. We are not rich, or we can't afford it, like this White people does, so that's why I think they quit school.

Another major category of reasons offered as to why children left school referred to the autonomy of the child and his maturation, so that he was now of age to go to work, join the armed services, marry, and so on. For Cherokee the decision to remain in school should always be the child's and, while governmental regulations and attendance officers have attempted with considerable success to enforce compulsory attendance and to involve the family in assisting that enforcement, nonetheless, the Cherokee elders regard the decision as in the hands of the child. If the school desires his presence, then it ought to enlist his voluntary cooperation. As we have noted earlier, a fair proportion of Cherokee elders desire that the children should acquire a maximum of education, but they are thwarted by the child's dislike of school, his finding alternatives (e.g. the armed services) more attractive, and by their own lack of the social and economic resources that might make a continued stay at school somewhat more palatable (even if not attractive). Moreover, we should note that here again parents refer to the inutility of education. A small percentage (seven of 158) pointed out that the child might as well quit school since there would be no job for him anyway, . . were he to complete highschool. Since the Cherokees regard the conventional school system as attractive primarily because of the potential for economic improvement, then the absence of jobs for those who do graduate represents a critical demerit. The Cherokees do wish to resolve their economic situation, and they have viewed formal education as a possible instrumentality, but if completion of schooling (or at least the high school diploma) brings no economic reward, then they might as well retire from that system and continue their attempt to live their lives as best they can within their own communities.

Proposals and Avenues for Change

We have noted that the Cherokees seek different and more congenial teachers for their young. They also (Table 3.8) propose correlated changes in the classrooms. Several proposed that Indian teachers be recruited to work along with the Whites. Others wanted Cherokee added to the instructional curriculum. And one respondent made the sweeping proposal that the Cherokees should have their own school system:

> I wish they could have their own school for the Cherokee Indians, because they might get a better education where they can use it, because know that some children they finish the twelfth grade and they don't have no job any place.

Revolutionary as seems the implication of these words, they are not so novel as they might appear. Until the dissolution of the Cherokee Nation, the Cherokees had their own school system, and for a considerable period of time their schools were reputed the finest west of the Mississippi. For some brief period, also, the elementary school system was operated within the Cherokee language, although there is evidence that there were conflicts associated with the choice of the instructional language. In any event, the Cherokee are familiar or knowledgable about a variety of school systems -- federal, public (local), and religious mission -- while some of the adults may have heard from their elders about the Cherokee National system. Early in the course of our project, we were told that, when the large claims settlement was won for the Nation in 1962, one of the Tribal associations approached a member of the Executive Committee with the suggestion that these funds be used to buy land on which the Cherokee could then settle and establish their own schools. They explained that their experience had been that few students from their community achieved as much as the eighth grade but that, if they did, and if they then remained in school, then, usually, they left the community and did not return. What they needed were Cherokee who were educated yet remained linked to their natal communities.

Because subordinated and enclaved peoples, such as the Cherokee, are so often accused of apathy, indifference, and idleness, it is important to stress the contrary orientation that is characteristic of these Tribal Cherokee: they are strongly concerned about the schools and their offspring; they have good reason to be critical of the educational process as it affects their children; and, clearly, they are not beyond proposing a variety of reforms which would, in their estimation, improve this difficult situation. Moreover, these reforms go beyond the bitter carping that is distinctive of persons who defend their own incompetence and inaction by casting aspersions on those who try to assist them. Quite the contrary, there are Cherokee who would like nothing better than to assume far greater control over their own destinies and this would include the operating of their own school system.

Short of such overarching reforms, what else can the Tribal Cherokee do? Given their poverty, lack of federal governmental assistance, and degraded social status, it is likely they could do very little. Politically, they might constitute something of a voting bloc, but they are minorities in the counties of the region or in the legislative district, so their electoral bargaining power, even were they united, is weak. They can vote in school board elections (Table 3.10) and 71% claim that they do, but since an even larger proportion have never attended a meeting of the school board -- and most likely would not comprehend the nature of the business there transacted in English -- and since half of them have not met the members of their board, they are distinctly handicapped in their usage of this local electoral process. Besides the irony is that such electoral control is becoming less accessible, as consolidation of school districts is occurring.

At this level, then, the situation seems insoluble, for in the narrow sense the problem is not educational. The schools are not suited to the needs of the Cherokee and are becoming less suited, but this is not the consequence of villainous educators. The Cherokee are concerned about education but becoming more skeptical about its value, either in monetary terms or in terms of their own communal aspirations; meanwhile, they find it difficult to affect educational policy. As a result, the educational achievement of Cherokee youngsters remains relatively low, and, given the linguistic and cultural barriers between them and their teachers, is likely to be even worse than might appear from the figures of grade achievement.

Table 3.1

Highest School Grade Completed, Tribal Cherokee Adults

Grade	Males		Females		Total	
	124 = 100.0		153 = 100.0		277 = 100.0	
Less than One	15	12.9	7	4.6	22	7.9
One	4	3.2	6	3.9	10	3.6
Two	9	7.3	6	3.9	15	5.4
Three	16	12.9	11	7.2	27	9.7
Four	9	7.3	10	6.5	19	6.9
Five	8	6.5	17	11.1	25	9.0
Six	8	6.5	14	9.2	22	7.9
Seven	9	7.3	11	7.2	20	7.2
Eight	15	12.1	16	10.5	31	11.2
Nine	17	13.7	18	11.8	35	12.6
Ten	8	6.5	12	7.8	20	7.2
Eleven	1	.8	12	7.8	13	4.7
Twelve	3	2.4	13	8.5	16	5.8
More than Twelve	2	1.6	---		2	.7
Median	5.1		6.5		5.9	

Source: Household Survey

Table 3.2

Highest School Grade Completed

Heads of Indian Households, Cherokee County

Highest Grade Completed	N = 100.0
None	20
One	6
Two	6
Three	12
Four	8
Five	3
Six	10
Seven	7
Eight	11
Nine	1
Ten	7
Eleven	4
Twelve	5
More than Twelve	---
Median	3.8

Source: Underwood (1966: 86), reworked.

Table 3.3

Language of Children on Entering School

Language Spoken	185	= 100 %	
English only	12	8	
English and Cherokee (Bilingual)	42	27	
Cherokee and "a little bit of English"	29	18	56
Cherokee only	61	38	
No response	14	9	

Table 3.4

Indian Enrollment by Grade Level

Area Schools	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Total
Delaware County:													
Rural Elementaries	91	87	92	98	86	77	84	73	--	--	--	--	688
Colcord	2	6	--	1	3	5	3	2	5	1	2	3	33
Grove	6	3	9	5	4	5	4	4	7	4	3	8	62
Jay	29	30	31	27	30	26	40	57	60	13	15	19	377
Kansas	19	12	15	16	26	20	18	18	22	17	7	12	202
Cherokee County:													
Rural Elementaries	75	76	75	75	63	60	57	68	--	--	--	--	549
Tahlequah	26	23	28	26	16	31	23	23	51	44	34	30	355
Hulbert	8	15	14	9	10	5	11	5	21	8	14	14	144
Adair County:													
Rural Elementaries	128	90	106	93	86	113	115	98	--	--	--	--	829
Cave Springs	9	6	7	9	9	7	14	13	28	23	17	11	152
Stilwell	12	11	13	9	17	11	12	13	63	47	48	27	283
Watts	3	6	1	4	--	1	1	--	2	1	1	--	20
Westville	2	3	6	3	6	1	2	3	15	11	4	7	63
Totals:	410	368	397	375	343	362	383	387	264	169	145	131	3,757

Source: Daily registers, November 1965 as reported in Underwood (1966:77 Table 4).

Note: this table is exactly as presented in the source.

Table 3.5

"What is the main reason, in your opinion, why a person should get an education?"

Reasons	Respondents 158	- 100 %
Economic		
Job: to have a job, better job; job opportunity; easy job	138	87
Independence: self support, make own living. . .	57	36
Betterment: easy life	46	29
Self Improvement		
They are better if they have an education; she won't grow up like I did; could help older people	32	20
Communication		
To ask for a job; to understand English; to translate.	24	15
Negative (value doubtful)		
No jobs for the educated; Cherokee Indians have good education but still they have no jobs.	27	17 0
No response	9	6.0
Total Responses (Multiple)	333	

Table 3.6

How Many Years of Schooling Would you Like Your Children to Get?

Years of Schooling Mentioned	No.		%
	158	=	100 %
Tenth Grade	1		1
Complete High School	53		34
College	76		48
As Much as they Can Get	15		9
Other, No Answer	13		8

Table 3.7

Factors Affecting Achieving Educational Goal?

	Complete High School		College		Total	
Total	53	= 100 %	76	= 100%	129	= 100
Expense: if we could afford it.	26	49	47	62	73	57
Self: if they wanted to; if they could learn	9	17	13	17	22	17
Other: Dad is in poor health	12	23	14	18	26	20

Table 3.8

Do you Think that there is Something that Could Be Done to Make the Schools Better Now? What is it?

	No. Persons	
	158	= 100 %
Improvements of the School (total)	81	51.
Better teachers and better teaching	37	23.
Indian teacher	11	7.
Better curriculum	10	6.
Better administration	3	2
Better facilities (bus, library, etc.)	20	13
Economic for Pupils	20	13
More support for clothes, fees, supplies		
Schools are Satisfactory	36	29
Good as they are		
Schools Lead Nowhere	2	1
No Jobs		
Total Responses	139	88
No Comments	34	21.
Don't Know	24	15.
No Response	10	6.

Table 3.9

Why do you Think Some Children Quit School Before they Finish?

Reasons	No.	Persons
	158	= 100.0
Autonomy: own boss, legal age to quit, marriage, army, lazy	63	40.0
School		
Hate school	42	27.0
Can't learn, repeated failure	36	23.0
Teacher's fault, not teaching correctly	19	12.0
Familial Economics		
Expense, clothes, rings, workbooks, fees pictures	51	32.0
Parents can't support, didn't assist	12	8.0
Indianness		
Because of being Indian, trouble with Whites, pupils, teacher, etc.	15	9.0
Education would have no value (because of Indianness), e.g. no job	7	4.0
Total Responses	245	
No answer, DK	7	4.0

3.10

Indian Parents and School Board

Does the family vote in the school board elections?

	158	= 100.0
Do vote	112	70.9
Never voted	36	22.8
"Used to" vote	3	1.9
No response	7	4.4

Do the parents know the school board members?

Know members	62	39.2
Don't know members	79	50.0
"Used to" know	5	3.2
No response	12	7.6

Have the parents ever gone to a school board meeting?

Never went	130	82.3
Do go	7	4.4
Have gone ("used to")	8	5.1
No response	13	8.2

THE CHEROKEE SCHOOL SOCIETY AND
THE INTERCULTURAL CLASSROOM*

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* This is a product of the Indian Education Research Project sponsored by the University of Kansas (Lawrence) under contract with the U.S. Office of Education according to the provisions of the Cooperative Research Act; the Principal Investigator was Murray L. Wax. The field research on the communities and schools analysed in this essay was conducted by Robert V. Dumont and Mildred Dickeman with assistance from Lucille Proctor, Elsie Willingham, Kathryn RedCorn, Clyde and Della Warrior. Sole responsibility for this text rests with the authors.

A paper bearing the title "The Intercultural Classroom" and having much the same orientation, but different in details and structure of argument, was presented by Robert V. Dumont at a panel session on Indian education at the annual meetings of the Society for Applied Anthropology, Washington, D.C., Spring, 1967.

Introductory

"Indian education" is one of those phrases whose meaning is not the sum of its component words. Notoriously, "education" is an ambiguous word which is used to justify and idealize a variety of relationships (or, indeed, to criticize the same). In the context where the pupils are members of a lower caste or ethnically subordinated group, education has come to denominate a unidirectional process by which missionaries -- or others impelled by motives of duty, reform, charity, and self-sacrifice -- attempt to uplift and civilize the disadvantaged and barbarian. Education then is a process imposed upon a target population in order to shape and stamp them into becoming dutiful citizens, responsible employees, or good Christians.[1]

In the modern federal and public school systems serving Indian children, there is less of the specifically religious quality, but there is felt the active presence of the missionizing tradition, however secularized. To appreciate this fully, we may remind ourselves that what has been involved in the "education" presented to -- more often enforced upon -- the American Indians has been nothing less than the transformation of their traditional cultures and the total reorganization of their societies.[2]

By denominating this as unidirectional, we mean to emphasize that the major transformations which have spontaneously been occurring, among Indian peoples are neglected in the judgments of the reforming educators.[3] As a major contemporary instance, we need but turn to the first few pages of a recent book, representing the work of a committee of a high repute. The initial paragraph tells us that the goal of public policy should be "making the Indian a self-respecting and useful American citizen" and that this requires "restoring his pride of origin and faith in himself," while on the following page we find that very origin being derogated and distorted with the left-handed remark that "it would be unwise to dismiss all that is in the traditional Indian culture as being necessarily a barrier to change."[4] The mythic image of an unchanging traditional Indian culture does not bear discussion here; rather, we direct attention to the fact that such a remark could be advanced as the theme of a contemporary book about Indians and that this book could then receive favorable reviews both from liberals involved in Indian affairs and from the national Indian interest organizations. Clearly, those reviewers take it for granted that Indian education should be unidirectional (none seem to have thought it noteworthy that the last chapter of the book was titled "Policies Which Impede Indian Assimilation" although the implication of that title is that the necessary goal is total ethnic and cultural dissolution).

An alternate way of perceiving the unidirectionality by which we here characterize "Indian education" is to note the curious division of labor bifurcating the process of cultural exchange with Indian peoples: missionaries and educators devote themselves to instructing the Indians but not themselves teaching or influencing them. Thus, the ethnographers value the learning of the native languages, whereas the schoolmasters and missionaries have only seldom devoted themselves to learning them, even when the native language is the primary tongue of their Indian pupils and the primary domestic and ceremonial medium of the community in which they are laboring.

Because Indian educational programs have been unidirectionally organized, deliberately ignoring native languages and traditions, they have had to proceed more via duress than suasion. Today the duress is in the laws of compulsory attendance, as enforced by an appropriate officer, but the climax of traditional "Indian education" was the forcible seizing or kidnapping of Indian children by agents of the U.S. government. These children were then incarcerated in boarding establishments whose programs were designed to shape them within the molds of the conquering society. Yet the irony of this crude and brutal effort was that, while the mass of children underwent profound changes, yet their very aggregation provided them with the need and opportunity to cohere and resist. Like the inmates of any total institution, the Indian pupils developed their own norms and values, which were neither those of their Indian elders nor those of their non-Indian instructors. Such a process of autonomous development has continued to distinguish much of Indian conduct in relation to modern programs and schools, including the classrooms which shortly we will be reviewing.[5]

Tribal Cherokee Communities

The consequence of the various reformative and educational programs aimed at the Indian peoples has been not to eliminate the target societies but rather, paradoxically, to encourage an evolution which has sheltered an ethnic and distinct identity. So, today, there remain a relatively large number of persons, identified as Indians, and dwelling together in enclaved, ethnically and culturally distinctive communities. The Tribal Cherokee of contemporary northeastern Oklahoma are not untypical.[6] Like other Indian communities, they have lost the greater measure of their political autonomy to federal, state, and local agencies. Many of the contemporary Indian peoples do have "Tribal Governments" but these do not correspond to traditional modes of social organization or proceed by traditional modes of deliberation and action. In the specific case of the Oklahoma Cherokee, the "Tribal Government" is a non-elected, non-representative, and self-perpetuating clique, headed by individuals of great wealth and political power, while the Tribal Cherokee are among the poorest denizens of a depressed region, and while their indigenous associations are denied recognition by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

The Cherokee of Oklahoma once practiced an intensive and skilled subsistence agriculture, but this has all but disappeared as the Indians have lost their lands and been denied the opportunity to practice traditional forms of land tenure. The rural lands now find employment principally for cattle ranching (often practiced on a very large scale) and for tourism and a few local industries (e.g. plant nurseries, chicken processing) or crops (strawberries) which require a cheap and docile labor supply. Until the recent building of dams and paved highways and the concomitant attempt to develop the region as a vacationland, the Tribal Cherokee were able to supplement their diet with some occasional game or fish, but they now find themselves harassed by state game and fish regulations, while subjected to the competition of weekend and vacation sportsmen.

Like the other Indian societies of North America, the Cherokee have been goaded along a continuum that led from being autonomous societies to being a "domestic dependent nation" and thence to being an ethnically subordinated people in a cast-like status. In Oklahoma there is a distinctive non-caste peculiarity. A vast majority of the population will claim to be "of Indian descent" as this signifies a lineage deriving from the earliest settlers. To be "of Cherokee descent" is a mark of distinction, particularly in the northeast of Oklahoma, since to the knowledgeable it connotes such historic events as "Civilized Tribes" and the "Trail of Tears." Yet, paradoxically, there exist others whose claim to Indianness is undeniable, while their mode of life is offensive to the middleclass. The term, Indian, tends to be used to denote those who are judged as being idle, irresponsible, uneducated, and a burden to the decent and taxpaying element of the area. Within northeastern Oklahoma, the Indians are the Tribal Cherokees, and their communities are marked by high rates of unemployment, pitifully low cash incomes, and a disproportionate representation on the rolls of relief agencies. Perhaps the major respect in which the Cherokke Indians differ from those such as the Sioux of Pine Ridge is that the latter, being sited on a well-known federal reservation, are the targets of myriads of programs from a multiplicity of federal, private, and local agencies, whereas the Cherokee are still mainly the targets of welfare workers, sheriffs, and aggressive entrepeneurs.[7]

In this essay we wish to focus on the schools attended by Indian children in the cases where they are the preponderant element of the school population. This condition is realized not only on reservations, where the federal government operates a special school system under the administration of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, but in other regions of the country by virtue of covert systems of segregation. As in the case of Negro-White segregation, the basis is usually ecological, so that, for example, in northeastern Oklahoma the rural concentrations of Tribal Cherokee (along the stream beds in the hill country) predispose toward a segregated system at the elementary levels, but the guiding principle is social, so that Tribal Cherokee children are bussed to rural schools while White children travel to the urban. Within these rural elementary schools, the Indian children confront educators who are ethnically and linguistically alien, even if they appear to be neighbors -- of Cherokee or non-Cherokee descent -- deriving from an adjacent or a similar geographic area.

Such classrooms may be denominated as "cross-cultural," although the ingredients contributed by each party seem on a careful assessment to be weighted against the Indian pupils. The nature and layout of the school campus, the structure and spatial divisions of the school buildings, the very chairs and their array, all these are products of the greater society and its culture -- indeed, they may at first glance appear to be so conventional as to fail to register with the academic observer the significance of their presence within a cross-cultural transaction. Equally conventional, and almost more difficult to apprehend as significant, is the temporal structure: the school period, the school day, and the school calendar. The spatial and temporal grid by which the lives of the Indian pupils are to be organized is foreign to their native traditions while manifesting the symbolic structure of the society which has encompassed them.

The observer thus anticipates that the classroom will be the arena for an unequal clash of cultures. While the parental society is fenced out of the school, whatever distinctive traditions have been transmitted to their children will now be "taught out" of them, and the wealth, power, and technical supremacy of the greater society will smash and engulf these traditionalized folk. Forced to attend school, the Indian children there confront educators who derive their financial support, their training and ideology, their professional affiliation and bureaucratic status, from a complex of agencies and institutions based far outside the local Indian community. The process is designed as unidirectional: the children are to be "educated" and thus the Indian communities are to be transformed; meanwhile, neither the educator nor the agencies for which he is a representative are presumed to be altered -- at least by the learning process.

Cherokees in the Classroom

The classrooms where Indian students and a White teacher create a complex and shifting sequence of interactions exhibit as many varieties of reality and illusion as there are possible observers. One such illusion -- in the eyes of the White educator -- is that the Cherokee are model pupils. Within their homes they have learned a restraint and caution as the proper mode of relating to others, and so in the classroom the teacher finds it unnecessary to enforce discipline. As early as the second grade, the young children are sitting with perfect posture, absorbed in their readers, rarely talking -- and then in the softest of tones -- and never fidgetting. Even when they are marking time, unable to understand what is occurring within the classroom, or bored by what they are able to understand, they make themselves unobtrusive while keeping one ear attuned to the educational interchange. They respect competence in scholastic work, and their voluntary activities both in and out of school are organized surprisingly often and with great intensity about such skills. Eager to learn, they devote long periods of time to their assignments, while older and more experienced students instruct their siblings in the more advanced arithmetic they will be encountering at higher grade levels.

To the alien observer (whether local teacher or otherwise), the Cherokee children seem to love to "play school." Dumont recalls talking during one recess period with an elderly White woman who had devoted many years to teaching in a one room school situated in an isolated rural Cherokee community and who now was responsible for the intermediate grades in a more consolidated enterprise that still was predominantly Cherokee. "You just have to watch these children," she said, "If you don't pay no mind, they'll stay in all recess. They like to play school." And, as if to illustrate her point, she excused herself, returned into the school building, and returned with a straggle of children. "They told me they had work they wanted to do, but it is too nice for them to stay inside. . . . You know, I forgot how noisy students were until I went to the (County Seat) for a teacher's meeting. It's time for me to ring the bell now. (If I don't,) they will come around and remind me pretty soon."

Given the seeming dedication of her pupils, the naive observer might have judged this woman an exceedingly skilled and effective teacher -- a Sylvia Ashton-Warner among the Tribal Cherokee -- and yet the reality is that she was a rather poor teacher, and that at the time of graduation the pupils of her one-room school had scarcely known any English, a fact so well known that parents said of her, "She don't teach them anything!"

Like many of her White colleagues, this woman was interpreting Cherokee conduct from within her own cultural context, and as much is evident on close inspection of the remark quoted, where the intensive involvement of her pupils in the learning tasks is mentioned as *playing* school. In kindred fashion, teachers like herself will describe the silence of the students as timidity or shyness, and experience their control and restraint as docility. Most teachers are not able to observe more than their own phase of the complex reality which occurs within their classrooms; they are too firmly set within their own traditions, being the products of rural towns and of small state teachers colleges, and now working within and limited by a tightly structured institutional context. Certainly, one benefit of teaching Indians in rural schools is that the educators are sheltered from observation and criticism. Except for their own consciences and professional ideologies, no one cares about, guides or supervises their performance, and there is little pressure for them to enlarge their awareness of classroom realities.

Even for ourselves, who have had much experience in the observing of Indian classrooms, it required many hours of patient and careful watching (plus the development of some intimacy with the local community), before we began to appreciate the complexities of interaction within the Cherokee schoolroom. The shape assumed by the clash of cultures was a subtle one and, at first, could be appreciated most easily in the frustration of the teachers; the war within the classrooms was so cold that its daily battles were not evident, except at the close of the day as the teachers assessed their lack of pedagogical accomplishment. Those teachers who defined their mission as a "teaching out" of native traditions were failing to register any headway; some of these good people had come to doubt their ability to work with children so difficult and retiring (although the fact was -- as we came to know -- that their pupils contained a fair share of youngsters who were eager, alert, intelligent, and industrious). A few teachers had resigned themselves to marking time within the school, while surrendering all notions of instruction. As these phenomena began to impress themselves upon our minds, we began to discern in these classrooms an active social entity that we came to call "The Cherokee School Society." (Later, still, we were to be surprised by other classrooms where this Society remained latent and where instead the teacher and students weee constructing intercultural bridges for communication and instruction; under the heading of "Intercultural Classrooms," these will be discussed below.)

In order to comprehend the complexity of interaction within these classrooms, we need to remind ourselves that the children who are performing here as pupils have been socialized (or enculturated) within the world of the Tribal Cherokee as fully and extensively as have any children of their age in other communities. In short, we must disregard the material poverty of the Tribal Cherokee families and their lower class status, and we must firmly discard any of the cant about "cultural deprivation" or "cultural disadvantage." These children are culturally alien, and for the outsider -- whether he be educator or social researcher -- to enter into their universe is as demanding as the mastering of an utterly foreign tongue. In the brief compass of an article, it is hard to do more than indicate a few of the more striking evidences of their distinctive cultural background.

Even in the first grade Cherokee children exhibit a remarkable propensity for precision and thoroughness. Asked to arrange into a pyramidal form a set of colored matchsticks, the children become involved so thoroughly with maintaining an impeccable vertical and horizontal alignment that they become oblivious to the number learning which they are supposed to acquire via this digital exercise. These six year olds did not resolve the task by leaving it at the level of achievement for which their physical dexterity would suffice, but continued to manipulate the sticks in a patient effort to create order beyond the limitations of the material and their own skills. As they mature, the Cherokee students continue this patient and determined ordering of the world, but as a congregate activity that is more often directed at social than physical relationships. At times this orientation becomes manifest in an effort toward a precision in social affairs that is startling to witness in persons so young (here, sixth graders):

> The teacher has asked about the kinds of things which early pioneers would say to each other in the evening around the campfire as they were traveling.
>
> Jane: "Save your food."
>
> Teacher: "That's preaching."
>
> Jane and Sally (together): "No."
>
> Jane: "That is just to tell you" (the tone of voice makes her sound just like a teacher).
>
> The teacher agrees, and his acquiescent tone makes him sound like the student. He continues, "They would get you in a room. . ."

Jane interrupts: "Not in a room."

Teacher: "In around a campfire then." He continues by asking if everyone would be given a chance to speak or just representatives.

Dick: "That would take all night; they might forget." Jane and Sally agree that representatives would be the right way. The foregoing is as significant for the form of the interaction, as it is revealing of the students' concern for the precise reconstruction of a historical event. The students have wrought a reversal of roles, so that their standards of precision and their notions of social intercourse merged as normative for the discussion.

Although this kind of exchange rarely occurs -- and actually is typical only of the Intercultural Classroom -- we have used it here, for it reflects many of the norms of Cherokee students.

As healthy children, they are oriented toward the world of their elders, and they see their goal as participating as adults in the Cherokee community of their parents. In this sense, the art of relating to other persons so that learning, or other cooperative efforts, may proceed fruitfully and without friction has become more important to them than the mastery of particular scholastic tasks, whose relevance is in any case dubious. In the matrix of the classroom they learn to sustain, order, and control the relationships of a Cherokee community, and in so doing they are proceeding toward adult maturity and responsibility.

According to these norms, the educational exchange is voluntary for both parties and governed by a mutual respect. In any educational transaction, the Cherokee School Society is actively judging the competence of the teacher and allowing him a corresponding function as leader. Their collective appraisal does not tolerate the authoritarian stance assumed by some educators -- "You must learn this!" -- but rather facilitates the emergence of a situation in which the teacher leads because he knows -- "I am teaching you this because you are indicating that you wish to learn. . ." . A consequence of this configuration (or, in the eyes of an unsympathetic observer, a symptom) is that the Cherokee students may not organize themselves to master certain categories of knowledge that the school administration has by its formal statements chosen to require of them.

We must bear in mind that within the Tribal Cherokee community, reading or writing English, calculating arithmetically, and even speaking English have but minor employment and minimal utility. By the intermediate grades, the students are aware that, without having more than a marginal proficiency in spoken or written English, their elders are leading satisfactory lives as Cherokees. Attempts by their teacher to exhort them toward a high standard of English proficiency and a lengthy period of time-serving in the school system will arouse from the students a sophisticated rejoinder. After one such educational sermon, a ten year old boy bluntly pointed out to his teacher that a Cherokee adult, greatly admired within the local community -- and senior kin to many of the pupils present -- had but a fifth grade education. When the teacher attempted to evade this rebuttal by asking whether the students would not, as adults, feel inferior because they lacked a lengthy education and could not speak good English, the pupils were again able to rebut. To the teacher's challenge, "Who would you talk to?" the same boy responded, "To other Cherokee!"

Orienting themselves toward the community of their elders, the Cherokee students respond to the pressures of the alien educators by organizing themselves as The Cherokee School Society. As the teacher molds the outer forms of class procedure, so do the children exploit his obtuseness (as a White alien) to construct the terms on which they will act as students. But, while among the Oglala Sioux this transformation was effected with a wondrous boldness and insouciance,[8] here among the Cherokee it is with an exquisite social sensibility. Among these students, a gesture, an inflection in voice, a movement of the eye are as meaningful as a large volume of words for their White peers. By the upper elementary grades, the resultant is a multiple reality according to which the adolescent Cherokee appear now as quiet and shy, or again as stoical and calm, or yet again -- as may become apparent after prolonged observation -- as engaged in the most intricate web of sociable interaction. Such delicacy of intercourse, so refined a sensibility, requires a precision of movement, a neat and exact ordering of the universe.

Interestingly, the Cherokee School Society does not reject the curricular tasks formulated by the alien educational administrators. In fact, they will proceed with their usual patient intensity to labor upon assignments that can have no bearing upon their tradition or experience. But the fact that they are unable to comprehend these materials or relate them meaningfully to life within the Cherokee community acts as an increasing barrier to their mastery of them. Especially the fact that most students have not acquired anything but a rudimentary proficiency in spoken English has the consequence that the involved patterns of the printed language in the advanced texts are beyond their most diligent endeavors. Neither the language nor the topics can be deciphered.

So far, we have emphasized that the Cherokee students are interested in learning and that, from the viewpoint of the educator, they are docile pupils. Yet the cultural differences which we have noted, and the basic social separateness and lack of communication, ensure that conflicts will develop and become more intensive as the students mature. The school cannot proceed along the trackways established by educational authority, nor can it be switched by the students into becoming an adjunct of the rural Cherokee community. Hence, as they mature, the tension within the schoolroom becomes more extreme. Since the participants are one adult and many children, and since the latter are imbued with a cultural standard of nonviolence and passive resistance, open confrontations do not occur. Instead, what typically happens is that, by the seventh and eighth grades the students have surrounded themselves with a wall of silence that is impenetrable to the outsider while sheltering a rich emotional communion among themselves. The silence is positive, not simply a negative or withdrawal, and it shelters them so that, among other things, they can pursue their scholastic interests in their own style and pace. By their silence they exercise control over the teacher and maneuver him toward a mode of participation that meets their standards.

Teacher: "Who was Dwight David Eisenhower?"

Silence.

Teacher: "Have you heard of him, Joan?" (She moves her eyes from his stare and smiles briefly.)

Very quickly, the teacher jumps to the next person. There is something in his voice that is light and not deadly serious or moralistic in the way that is customary of him. He is just having fun, and this comes through so that the kids have picked it up. They respond to the tone, not to the question, "Alice?"

Alice leans back in her chair; her blank stare into space has disappeared, and her eyes are averted. She blushes. Now, she grins.

The teacher does not wait, "Wayne?"

Wayne is sitting straight, and his face wears a cockeyed smile that says he knows something. He says nothing.

Seeing the foxy grin, the teacher shifts again, "Wayne, you know?" This is a question and that makes all the difference. There is no challenge, no game playing, and the interrogation mark challenges Wayne's competency. But Wayne maintains the foxy grin and shakes his head, negative.

Quickly, the teacher calls on another, "Jake?" (He bends his head down and grins but says nothing.)

Teacher (in authoritative tone): "Nancy, tell me."

(But she says nothing, keeping her head lowered, although usually she answers when called upon). The teacher switches tones again, so that what he is asking of Nancy has become a command. Perhaps he catches this, for he switches again to the lighter tone, and says: "Tell me, Debra."

The only one in the room who doesn't speak Cherokee, Debra answers in a flat voice: "President."

As soon as the answer is given, there are many covert smiles, and Alice blushes. They all knew who he was.

To most educators and observers the foregoing incident is perplexing. Who within that classroom really is exercising authority? Are the students deficient in their comprehension either of English or of the subject matter? Are they, perhaps, flexing their social muscles and mocking the teacher -- because they don't like the lesson, they don't like him to act as he is acting, or because of what? For the Cherokee School Society has created within the formal confines of the institutional classroom, another social edifice, their own "classroom," so that at times there appears to be, not simply a clash of cultural traditions, but a cold war between rival definitions of the classroom. Such tension is not proper within Cherokee tradition. The Tribal Cherokee value harmonious social relationships and frown upon social conflict. Moderate disagreement among Cherokee is resolved by prolonged discussion that is interspersed, whenever possible, by joking and jesting; severe disagreement leads them to withdraw from the conflictful situation. But, given the compulsory nature of school attendance, the students may not withdraw from the classroom, much as they might wish to do so, and the teacher can only withdraw by losing his job and his income. Thus, an unmanageable tension may develop within the classroom if the teacher is unable to recognize the Cherokee pupils as his peers who, through open discussion, may share with him in the decisions as to the organizing and operating of the school.

The unresolved conflict of cultural differences typifies these classrooms. Within them, there is but little pedagogy, much silence, and an atmosphere that is apprehended by Indians (or observers of kindred sensibility) as ominous with tension. The following incident, participated in by Dumont, exhibits in miniature all these features: The classroom was small and the teacher had begun to relate a joke to Dumont. Not far away were seated four teenage Cherokee, and the teacher decided to include them within the range of his ebullience: "Boys, I want to tell you a joke. . ." It was one of those that played upon the stoical endurance of Indians in adapting to the whimsical wishes of Whites, and to narrate it in the classroom context was highly ironic. The plot and phrasing were simple, and easily apprehended by the students. But when the teacher had finished, they merely continued looking toward him, with their eyes focussed, not upon him, but fixed at some point above or to the side of his eyes. As he awaited their laughter, their expressions did not alter but they continued to stare at the same fixed point and then gradually lowered their heads to their work.

The Cherokee School Society maintains a rigid law of balance: we will change when the teacher changes. If the teacher should become involved in appreciating the ways of his Cherokee students, then they will respond with an interest in his ways. Needless to say, the older the students become, and the higher they increase in grade level, the less is the likelihood that this reciprocity will be initiated by their educators. Thus, there is a deep tragedy, for it is the students who lose and suffer the most, and yet the School Society is their technique of protecting themselves so as to endure the alien intrusiveness of the teacher and the discourtesy and barbarity of the school. Occasionally, observer and students experience a happier interlude, for there are to be found teachers who are as remarkable as they are rare and who sometimes are not even aware that their achievements are as prodigious as in fact they are.

The Intercultural Classroom

Within the intercultural classroom, Tribal Cherokee students will do such remarkable things as to engage in lengthy conversations with the teacher about academic subjects. For this to occur, the teacher has to be responsive to the distinctive norms and expectations of the students; yet the striking thing is that he does not have to abide by these norms or accept them as long as he is able to transmit to his students that he is willing to learn about them and to accommodate to them. This attitude places the teacher on a plane of parity with his students so that he must learn the most rudimentary cultural Cherokee cultural prescriptions from them, and they in turn become his instructors. Naturally, both parties experience conflicts in this reshuffling of roles; certainly, the interaction is not what the teacher has been trained to sustain. Yet, there arise structured devices for reducing these conflicts. To bridge the social breaches that are always opening, the Cherokee students urge forward one of their members -- not always the same person -- to mediate and harmonize.

If, by an unconscious presumption, the teacher has disrupted the harmonious flow of class activity, it is the mediator whose deft maneuver reduces the intensity and relaxes the participants. In a sense, what the mediator does is to restore parity between teacher and students by removing the nimbus of authority from the teacher, thus allowing the students to work out with the teacher a compromise which redirects class activities and so permits them to regain their proper tempo.

The teacher is freed to pursue the subject matter, but as scholastic assistant rather than classroom tyrant. With this in mind, let us examine the sequence of events which ended in a conversational repartee already quoted:

> They are reading about important men in history and have just finished with a section about educators.
>
> Teacher: 'We have two distinguished educators here. Does this make you feel proud?"
>
> It is quiet for the first time in the room. It is likely that the students are all thinking, how could we be proud of educators! As observer, I am uneasy and expectant; I wonder who will break the silence and how he will handle the delicate situation.

John: "I don't like schools myself." (!)

Teacher: "Would you quit school if you could?" (He's asking for it!)

John (a firm answer): "Yes."

Teacher: "Suppose that your dad came and said you could quit, but he brought you a shovel and said, 'Dig a ditch from here to Brown's house,' since you weren't going to school."

John: "Okay."

Another student: "He might learn something."

Everyone finds this humorous; the class is in good spirits and is moving along.

John, too, is quick to reply: "Might strike gold." The topic has been discussed earlier in class. (The interaction develops and others become involved, including the more reticent students).

Here it is John who has played, and most successfully, the role of mediator. The teacher had ventured into a delicate area that had the potential of disrupting the classroom atmosphere. The responding silence had been a token of the social peril, and John, who so often among his peers had assumed the mediating role, moved forward first, boldly countering with a declaration as strong as the teacher's, The consequence is that he redefined the structure of the interaction and became the initiator of the exchange, while the teacher merely sustained it. A cultural bridge was thereby constructed, accessible to all students and the teacher as well, and John's "Okay" is his consent to the conditions of the structure.

The mediating role becomes less necessary the more the teacher is attuned to the interactional norms of Indian society; it becomes more difficult (if more essential) as the teacher insists upon maintaining a tyrannical control over the classroom (but we shall not here discuss that configuration). Yet, even as the teacher is attuned, some function is reserved for a mediator, for the teacher tends to proceed in terms of work to be done by an abstract student, while the mediator explores how the task can be redefined within the framework of the Cherokee student. His is a work of adaptation, and insofar as he is successful, the classroom becomes intercultural -- a locus where persons of different cultural traditions can engage in mutually beneficial transactions without either party being affronted.

What must the teacher do to foster the emergence of the intercultural classroom within the cross-cultural situation? To begin to answer this would take an essay of length equal to the present one, but it might be helpful to quote the remarks of one teacher in the region: "I can't follow a lesson plan, and I just go along by ear. I've taught Cherokee students for six years in high school, and this is my first (year) in elementary school." Referring, then to his experiences as a high school coach, he continued, "The thing you have to do, if you get a team, is that you got to get them to cooperate. . ." At first glance, this appears odd and contradictory to our earlier assertions about the spontaneous emergence of the Cherokee School Society (not to mention contradictory to the conventional notions that Indians will not compete with each other). Yet, what he is explaining is that unless the teacher chooses to recognize the social nature of the classroom and to work toward integrating his teaching with that social life, he will not be able to elicit active learning experiences from his pupils. Or, to put it negatively, that, if the teacher does not work with his Indian students as a social group, their union will be directed toward other goals. Yet the teacher can secure their response only if he "gets them" to cooperate; he cannot "make them" do so.

Conclusion

The foregoing report provides the basis for judgments and hypotheses on a variety of levels. On the practical level, it would seem to follow that ethnic integration is not the essential precondition for satisfactory education of groups which are low in their socioeconomic situation. The Tribal Cherokee are impoverished and poorly educated, yet we would hypothesize that their educational condition will deteriorate rather than improve as consolidation progresses throughout northeastern Oklahoma. Given the ethos of the Tribal Cherokee, there would be many opportunities for assisting their children educationally which will be irremediably lost with consolidation.

On the methodological level, we are reminded of how sociologically valuable it is for researchers to focus on the frontier situations "where peoples meet."[10] The accommodations and adaptations and divisions of labor which result are an enlightening and fascinating phenomenon, which especially deserve to be studied as a corrective to those theoretical systems which regard the national society as an integrated social system.

On the substantive level, the research cautions us about the erosion suffered by our conceptual armamentarium when researchers allow the research problem to be defined by educational administrators. As a consequence, the educational situation of peoples such as the Indians tends to be conceived in terms of individual pupils and their "cultural deprivation," and the researcher is asked to assist the administration in raising these disadvantaged individuals to the point where they can compete in school in the same fashion as do the children of the middle-class. Our research report reminds investigation that such styles of conceptualization neglect the social nature of the classrooms and the social ties among the pupils; they also neglect the tension between teacher and pupils as a social group and the struggles that occur when the teacher pressures for individualistic achievement at the expense of group solidarity.[11]

Finally, on a methodological level, again, the research displays the values of ethnographic type observations of classroom activities. Basic and simple as it is, and unpretentious in the face of modern testing procedures, direct observation yet has much to teach us.[12]

NOTES

1. Cf. Rosalie H. Wax and Murray L. Wax, "American Indian Education for What?" Midcontinent American Studies Journal, VI, 2 (Fall, 1965), 164-170.

2. An enlightening account of the mission schools for American Indians may be found in the chapter, "Nurseries of Morality," in Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., Salvation and the Savage: An analysis of Protestant Missions and American Indian Response, 1787-1862 (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1965), pp. 20-43.

3. Unfortunately, some of the anthropological textbooks on American Indians have been guilty of indulging in the same static imagery, as they present the particular tribes in "the ethnographic present." Conspicuous and happy exceptions are such books as Edward H. Spicer's Cycles of Conquest (Tucson: University of Arisona Press, 1962) and Fred Eggan's The American Indian (Chicago: Aldine, 1966).

4. The Indian: America's Unfinished Business, compiled by William A. Brophy and Sophie D. Aberle (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966). The citations are from pp. 3-4.

5. An excellent and brief summary and bibliography of the history of research on Indian education will be found in the presentation by Philleo Nash, pp. 6-30, Proceedings of the National Research Conference on American Indian Education, edited by Herbert A. Aurback (Kalamazoo, Mich: The Society for the Study of Social Problems, 1967). In order to discuss the history of research on Indian education, Nash was obligated to deal with some of the major changes of policy as well. The

NOTES cont. p. 2

continue for note 5

Conference *Proceedings* also contain a summary review by William H. Kelly of current research on Indian education, and in general the discussions and bibliographies will be found helpful.

Histories of Indian education will be found in the following: Willard W. Beatty, "Twenty Years of Indian Education," *The Indian in Modern America*, ed. David A. Baerreis (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1956), pp. 16-49; Evelyn C. Adams, *American Indian Education* (New York: King Crowns Press, 1946); Harold E. Fey and D'Arcy McNickle, *Indians and Other Americans* (New York: Harper, 1959), chap. xii. And of course the Meriam Report included an intensive assessment of the goals and achievements of Indian education, Lewis Meriam and Associates, *The Problem of Indian Administration* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1928, especially pp. 346-429.

6. The term "Tribal Cherokee" we take from the research reports of Albert Wahrhaftig, which, in addition to whatever information may be inferred from the tables of the U.S. Census, constitute the best recent source on the condition of the Cherokee of Oklahoma. See his "Social and Economic Characteristics of the Cherokee Population of Eastern Oklahoma" and "The Tribal Cherokee Population of Eastern Oklahoma" both produced under sponsorship of the Carnegie Cross-cultural Education Project of the University of Chicago (mimeographed, 1965); also his "Community and the Caretakers," *New University Thought*, IV, 4, (Winter 1966/67), 54-76. Also pertinent are the unpublished essay by Murray L. Wax, "Ecology, Economy, and Educational Achievement" (Lawrence:

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Indian Education Research Project of the University of Kansas; mimeographed, 1967); as well as Angie Debo, *The Five Civilized Tribes of Oklahoma: Report on Social and Economic Conditions* (Philadelphia: Indian Rights Assn, 1951).

7. Cf. Murray L. Wax and Rosalie H. Wax, "The Enemies of the People," *Institutions and the Person: Essays Presented to Everett C. Hughes*, ed. Howard S. Becker, *et al*. (Chicago: Aldine Press, forthcoming).

8. Cf. Murray L. Wax, Rosalie H. Wax, and Robert V. Dumont, Jr. *Formal Education in an American Indian Community* (Kalamazoo, Mich: The Society for the Study of Social Problems, 1964), chap. vi.

9. See the discussions of "The Harmony Ethic" in John Gulick, *Cherokees at the Crossroads* (Chapel Hill: Institue for Research in Social Science, the University of North Carolina, 1960).

10. Everett C. Hughes and Helen M. Hughes, *Where Peoples Meet: Ethnic & Racial Frontiers* (Glencoe: Free Press, 1952)

11. Such phenomena were clearly noted by Willard Waller in his *Sociology of Teaching*, first published in 1932, reprinted by Science Editions (New York: John Wiley, 1965), and it is unfortunate to see the neglect of such elementary sociological considerations in much of the more recent literature of the "sociology of education."

12. Consider the impact and contribution of such recent books, relying either on direct observation or participation observation of classrooms, as John Holt, *How Children Fail* (New York: Delta, 1964); Harry F. Wolcott

continue for note 12

A Kwakiutl Village and School (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1967); Wax, Wax, and Dumont, *op. cit.*; Estelle Fuchs, *Pickets at the Gates* (New York: Free Press, 1966); G. Alexander Moore, Realities *of the Urban Classroom: Observations in Elementary Schools* (New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1967); Elizabeth M. Eddy, *Walk the White Line* (New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1967).

PART III

INDIANS IN URBAN SOCIETY

I. THE URBAN SCHOOL THAT RECEIVES THE INDIAN MIGRANT

Patrick Petit and Murray L. Wax

Introduction

In the deteriorated inner-city area of Tulsa is situated a school which hereirafter we shall call Crood Elementary. Of its approximately four hundred pupils, about ten per cent are identifiably Indian. The ratio is nothing much, but it was about the highest of any school in the metropolitan areas of Tulsa or Wichita, and since the field research team (Robert and Susan Wandruff) were seeking an urban locale where migrating Indians from rural northeastern Oklahoma might have been settling, they studied it and its clientele for a number of months during the school year 1966-67.

Necessarily, the researchers learned less about pupils who were Indian than they did about the nature of a school which serves the transient lower class. (Indeed, the researchers found it very difficult to locate and to visit the lower class Indians of the Tulsa metropolitan area and found, also, that none of the civic agencies knew much either -- but all that is a separate story.) Unlike rural and reservation schools, where the concentration of Indian pupils is so high that they can begin to affect the conduct of activities, schools like Crood are but little affected by the Indianness of their small Indian clientele. Nevertheless, study of these schools is essential if we are to understand the fate of those Indians who migrate out of economic need from depressed rural areas to urban slums.

Turnover Rates and Central Administration

Like thousands of public schools in lower class areas of the urban U.S., Crood Elementary is afflicted with a multitude of problems which it lacks the financial resources or the administrative autonomy to resolve. The physical building is in a depressing state of disrepair: cracked walls, broken furniture, peeling paint, poor equipment (cf. Kozol 1967: chap. 4; Kohl 1967:13). The teachers and the principal are constantly referring to the shortage of funds for supplies and equipment. But the school is located in a district characterized by a transient, impoverished, and politically under-represented population which provides little in the way of a tax base or basis for political power; moreover the district has already been attacked by "urban renewal", so that its physical integrity is undermined. The central administration of the metropolitan school system must realize that it is perfectly safe in holding funds for Crood to a bare minimum.

The teachers entering the system -- and they are numerous, for turnover is high -- have no previous experience in a lower class school, and they unanimously comment that nothing in their education or training has prepared them for what they here encounter. As soon as they can, they move to "better schools" (cf. Becker 1952a). Meanwhile, the school itself (in the words of the researchers) becomes:

> the repository of all the "dead wood" in the system, a sort of Devil's Island where they exile all the aged incompetents who are close to retirement and the young starters who have committed some egregious error or whom they are not too sure of (e.g. teachers who are transfers from the Arkansas system, etc.).

The pupils are likewise in a state of motion, as their families seek better (or any) jobs and housing, or flee from bill collectors and law enforcement officers, or attempt to reestablish themselves closer to their rural roots. The turnover of the pupils serves to disorganize the school and its classrooms, and, in order to compensate for this, much in the way of additional funds would be necessary, but the budgetary figures for the urban system are based on indices that show school membership but not turnover:

> In bemoaning some of the school's problems with turnover, the principal told me of a constant battle he has with his superiors over supplies and budget. It seems that supplies, textbooks, and funds are allocated to each school on the basis of student membership (measured) at the beginning of each semester. With a school having the turnover rate that Crood has, this means that, by the end of the ninth week of a current semester, all of the spare supplies are gone and the newly incoming pupils are left without them. The school system's summary statistics have no built-in way of counting turnover, and so the

> administration will "not believe" the principal when he tries to tell the central warehouse why he needs twice the amount of supplies as he has children on hand to use them at any one time. It is a constant battle, according to him, just to keep enough notebook paper around.

In these situations the researcher is tempted to speculate about whether the central administration really "does not know", or whether it actually knows very well but prefers to pretend that it does not know in order to avoid a public discussion of its basis for allocating school funds. From the limited perspective of the present discussion, such speculation is pointless, because regardless of the state of knowledge and belief within the central administration, the consequence is clear; given the turnover of pupils, schools like Crood do not receive the funds they require if they are to carry out the programs which supposedly they have been assigned.

Tables 1 and 2 provide some measure of the turnover among pupils. Table 1 shows the gains and losses in numbers of pupils during the four quarters of the school year 1964-65. Urban renewal began in this school district during the second quarter and its influence is shown, especially in the increased rate of losses. Table 2 compares the figures for Crood during the first quarter, 1966-67, with tho those of three schools similarly situated in Tulsa but unaffected by urban renewal. The pattern evident in Table 1 serves to illuminate the complaint of the principal. The original entry figures, showing the number enrolled on the first day of the quarter, vary only slightly, increasing only by a few persons from quarter to quarter, so that by the final quarter the school seems to have registered a net gain of but ten pupils. The final membership figures vary likewise within a narrow range, so that if we were unaware of the rows of figures showing losses and gains in numbers of pupils, we would think the school to be relatively constant in its population: in the third quarter after the beginning of demolition for urban renewal the sole visible effect would be a drop of about nine per cent in membership.

TABLE I

TURNOVER RATE: CROOD ELEMENTARY
GRADES K THRU 6, BY QUARTERS
SCHOOL YEAR 1964-65

Q=Quarter

	1st Q		2nd Q*		3rd Q		4th Q	
	#	%**	#	%	#	%	#	%
1. Original Entries (enrolled first day of quarter)	402	100	404	100	409	100	412	100
2. Entered after beginning of Q from out of state	23	5.7	42	10.4	63	15.4	74	18.0
3. Gains from within state schools	29	7.2	94	23.3	148	36.2	159	38.6
4. Losses	58	14.4	142	35.1	211	51.6	269	65.3
5. Final Membership	390	97.0	398	98.5	409	100	376	91.3

* Urban renewal demolition in the district began

** % figures are of the total original entries of Q

Source: Principal's Tally Sheet, Quarterly Final Attendance Report, Crood School, 1964-65.

TABLE II
TURNOVER RATE: BY SCHOOL
GRADES K THRU 6
FIRST QUARTER
1966-1967

	* CROOD		FRANK		LEMP		ARROW	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Entries	445	100	400	100	223	100	227	100
Gains	71	15.9	58	14.5	43	19.3	29	12.8
Losses	131	29.4	70	17.5	46	20.6	43	18.9
Final Membership	385	86.5	388	97.0	220	98.6	213	93.8

Source: Quarterly Report of Entries, Gains and Losses; Attendance and Census

* Pseudonyms have been used for all school names.

Yet, once we begin to study the detailed tabulations, we find that in the first school quarter of nine weeks, the gains and losses amounted to about thirteen or fourteen per cent of the original entries; and, once demolition began, these increased threefold, i.e. to gains and losses of about one-third of the original entries. By the third and fourth quarters of the school year, the figures for gains and losses have doubled once again, while, paradoxically, the total membership figures remain nearly constant. Given the normal procedures by which teachers and principals operate within a school, it is evident that little formal instruction could have taken place within the last half of that school year. Some readers might object that by focussing on the special problems faced by Crood as its district became involved in urban renewal, we are presenting an exaggerated or unusual picture. In reply we can only suggest that crises of this sort are more frequent in the lives of lower class ethnic migrants, such as Indians, than an outsider might surmise; it is not middle class neighborhoods which are selected for urban renewal. Moreover, in terms of educational loss and gain, the ethnic poor have fewer resources than have the middle class for coping with these problems. When we began our study, we did not seek for a school involved in such renewal; we sought for a school whose student body included some relatively high proportion of American Indians. When we settled on a suitable school, we found that it was an institution that was "normally" afflicted with a high rate of pupil turnover and that during the preceding school year that already high rate of turnover had increased severalfold as a consequence of the demolition of the neighborhood residences. Be that as it may, Table 2 provides comparative data on the "normal" magnitudes of turnover and allows us to infer that a turnover rate of ten to twenty per cent during each nine week quarter is representative of the situation.

Ethnically, the school population is mixed; among the students there are Negroes, Whites, Indians, Cubans, and so on; while the educators include one Negro and an administrator who claims "Indian blood". The segregation which affects the school is economic. A natural expanse of greenery and parkway has been designated as the boundary to the school district, and just across it there is a neighborhood of expensive homes whose children attend a school far different than Crood. The pattern of segregation is too familiar in urban settings to be worthy of critical comment.

The Plight of the Teachers

Within the dilapidated school that is denominated as Crood Elementary and with the meager resources available to them, the teachers are supposed to devise a meaningful educational program. But, given the rate of pupil turnover (described above), the educators are faced with problems for which their training in teachers colleges has failed to prepare them (Wagenschein 1950). The difficulties might be manageable, providing the turnover were simply a loss of pupils, but the steady intake that runs at least fifteen per cent per nine week quarter is sufficient to sabotage the educational planning of most teachers, for, facing new pupils, they are forced to repeat the same basic materials over and over again. Moreover, the substances that is repeated proves to be not curricular materials but institutional regulations, for above all else, order must be preserved:

> There is such a turnover in this school, to make any long range plans doesn't do any good. You end up teaching the same things over. It's frustrating because you can't tell how much they learn. The kids do okay, but it's hard on them to move around so much. It hurts the kids... Why, the children can't even learn the rules of the room; because, if you teach them the rules, next month you have a different group who don't know them.

Not only does the teacher confront a classroom whose population is constantly shifting, but the very composition of that population is foreign and so difficult for him to manage easily. Teacher after teacher asserted that nothing in his training -- either in his course work or in his practice teaching -- had prepared him for working in "this kind of school". And, while the teacher would mouth the educational jargon that insists upon speaking of pupils as distinct individuals -- never as members of ethnic and racial groups, and ever as individuals with peculiar and unique problems -- nevertheless he would make it quite clear that "this kind of school" was made distinctive by its lower-class and polyethnic population of pupils. An occasional teacher explicitly stated that he would have been benefited by training in understanding the cultures of the various groups whose children entered his classes, but this was usually expressed in the managerial sense, namely that with such background knowledge, he could handle the children more expeditiously and train them into becoming better citizens. No one revealed any consciousness of the intimate relationships among language, culture, personality, and mode of learning, that would have been basic to assisting these children toward educational achievement.

In stating the above, we do not mean to indict the teachers. They can scarcely be held responsible for their own ignorance, inexperience, and lack of specialized training. They were the passive recipients of training oriented toward working in upper middle class schools, and when their first major assignments were to schools like Crood, their response is first shock and then a desire to transfer elsewhere (cf. Becker 1952a).

From an interview with Teacher A:

> "Half the teachers that come here are straight out of college and don't have one single course in college to prepare them (for this kind of school). Then, they do their practice teaching in a school like I did (upper middle class), and they come here, and it's mass confusion for, I'd say, six to nine weeks. It's not their fault! They should have some kind of course in college, but they don't. They don't think they need to; they really don't want to bother. The teachers are just shocked by what they see and hear... One teacher quit (recently); she couldn't stand it. The kids couldn't be quiet.
>
> "This community is different than, say, the community where I did my practice teaching. They (here) aren't taught manners at home. They don't learn as fast. They're not as acquainted with words; they don't use them at home, so why care about learning them at school. They don't have much self-control; they learn that at home, too, so that's why you're a constant referee.
>
> "(Regarding the Indian children in her class:) If I understood their culture and background a little better, I could understand what (their) being quiet meant. (cf. Wax, Wax, & Dumont 1964: 98-101; Wax and Thomas 1961)."

From an interview with Teacher B:

> "I think there is a real need for teachers to have some kind of special course, especially at this school. Since I've been here, we've had a real mixture of students. The first year we still had a few rich White kids who hadn't moved out of the neighborhood. Two years ago, we had a lot of Cubans; they're

practically all gone now. And we have colored, the Indians, and the poor Whites. You've got to learn that they have their own values; you might want to change them, but you've got to learn theirs first."

With some teachers, the confrontation with the children and the neighborhood arouses a moral indignation that is freely expressed against the children and their parents.[1] Their casual conversation abounds with stories of mothers who are prostitutes, fathers who are drunkards, and children who sniff glue or indulge in other acts of moral turpitude. Thus, one teacher explained that she often stops her class for lectures on "What's going to happen to you if you get bad grades?" and that she singles our for attention a girl, ten years old, whose mother is a prostitute, warning her, "Do you want to turn out like your mother?" A special horror is aroused in this critic by her belief that this White woman does not deny her sexual services to men of color.

Thus, to the already formidable task of dealing with a transient population of pupils, and a population that is culturally alien and ethnically heterogeneous, many teachers add their personal increment of moral revulsion (cf. Herndon 1965; Kozol 1967). Not only does this further reduce their willingness to understand their children and to relate to them as moral and human beings, but it allows them to redefine their role in the school system as being a disciplinarian. Under the circumstances, the teaching of normal curricular materials would be difficult enough, but now the teacher sloughs off that facet of his role and conceives of himself as serving within the school in order to counteract the malign influence of the home environment. While (except for the principal) none of the educators interviewed had ever set foot within the home of one of their pupils, all had clear and definite ideas about the nature of these homes. (It should be noted that the visits of the principal are in connection with his activities pursuing children who are truant.) From their perspective the children are "bad", and their badness derives from "bad homes". The more "enlightened" teachers see that there is an association between the condition of the homes and the poverty of the people, but, since they do not understand the lives of these people, they still find the homes deplorable, although they are less inclined to blame the parents than their social circumstances.

The condemnation of these parents by the teachers reflects, not merely the conduct of pupils in the school, but the struggles which the teachers themselves are undergoing in order to maintain their own levels of respectable middle-class living. (The salary scale for educators in Oklahoma has been so low that in the year following this study, the state was censored by one of the national educational associations, which urged teachers to refuse to consider appointments there.) The families of the teachers at Crood often require a second wage income, and, when the spouse is not also employed, the teacher himself engages in moonlighting. For instance, one teacher, the male head of a household, spent one evening each week and the Saturday morning in activities that netted him an additional $28.00 per week, but he still is feeling financially pressed, and is talking of transferring into school administration in order to gain a more adequate income.

The poverty of the pupils, the lack of realistic budgetary allocations for the school, and the financial pressures on the teachers combine to limit drastically the educational resources of the school program. In response to a question about the problems limiting the effectiveness of the school program, the physical education instructor mentioned immediately --

> The economic situation. If they (the pupils) could bring stuff, we could have a better program... Like the right kind of shoes to run track in; that makes a lot of difference. Or, if the kids could bring twenty-five cents, we could buy tumbling mats. They do that in the other schools, but the kids here don't have the money. Twenty-five cents from each kid would make a lot of difference. The teachers can't do it (make up the sum); there's no school money, no provisions; so, we don't have the equipment.

The conscientious teachers among the Crood staff try to compensate for the limitations on their activities, but they soon come to find that the drain on their time and energies is inordinate. Thus, the art teacher, who impressed the fieldworkers as among the most competent and conscientious on the staff of Crood, explained:

> I never have enough materials. Last year I got $75.00 for three hundred kids for every day of school (i.e. to last for the whole school

> year). We got some federal money this year; that helped a lot; it came under Title 304, or whatever it is.
>
> I know it's universally true of art teachers that they never get enough money. But here the kids can't help by bringing stuff from home. The law says you can't ask them to bring anything but paste and crayons, and that doesn't last the whole year. And they can't bring stuff like scraps of yarn and material. They don't have magazines to use for projects.
>
> When I want something for a project, I take money out of my own pocket; not that it is ever very much, but it adds up. And, I can get extra paper by going around to the paper companies and paint stores for wall paper samples, but I don't have the time to do that always.

Thus, teachers like the foregoing duo, who wish conscientiously to develop programs as they have been trained to do and as are conducted in other schools in the area, find that they are in a bind which consumes their energies to small yield. If they have competence and ambition, they are usually moved to apply for a transfer to a location where they can institute the programs in question and gain the consummatory rewards they should reasonably receive for their efforts and dedication.[2]

Whether out of fright or despair, out of ambition or apathy, frustration or indifference, teachers are moved to leave schools such as Crood within a few months or a few years. Perhaps something can be said in favor of the stream of fresh blood that enters to fill the void, but the turnover of teachers augments the turnover of pupils to shape an institution that is so concerned about its own stability that its primary orientation is toward order and discipline.

Order and the Classroom

Schools are organized like bureaucracies or factories. The children are sorted into similar groups by such criteria as ages or performances on tests, and they are then assigned to the control of individuals who are presumably specialists in dealing with that kind of group; the controlling individuals subject the members of each group to a series of common treatments -- the lessons -- which are divided into distinct chronological units -- the class period. While never very satisfactory for educational purposes, the system becomes ever less satisfactory with each step down the social class ladder, so that it serves to thwart the teacher who would teach and to inhibit the pupil who would learn. Crood is an elementary school including grades from kindergarten to sixth, and children from about five to twelve years of age. The class periods appear to be measured so as to correspond to a notion of modal span of attention, from about fifteen minutes for the youngest to thirty minutes for the oldest. The class size is normally about thirty pupils, gaining or losing up to ten, depending on the patterns of migration and turnover. Given the heterogeneity of the pupils, in terms of ethnicity, background, scholastic achievement, and simple longevity of Crood, thirty pupils is too many for a lesson, and each class is therefore split into two or more "ability groupings" as they are called. In theory, the teacher works publicly with one of these groups, while the other(s) are busied with some task that does not require close supervision or public discussion. In fact, as the researchers usually observed, that division usually has different results, for the pupils who are unsupervised either socialize with each other, or fidget, or daydream, or simply evidence boredom; of course, there are exceptional classrooms, but they are exceptional.

Even during the periods of general classroom activity, such as problem-solving with the aid of notebooks, or general discussion [illegible] story telling, the teacher must frequently concentrate his attention to particular children who have particular problems. And, in any case, there is often simply a good deal of normal competition for attention. But, most important, neither the interests of the children nor the durations of the tasks fall easily into the time intervals which have been imposed. Among any class of thirty, there is a considerable distribution along the dimensions of skill and speed. The consequence for the teacher is that he is continually torn between (a) some sort of public presentation of his own, (b) personal attention to the pupil encountering special difficulties, and (c) suppressing the activities devised by children who are bored or who seek to gain his attention by irritating him. Moreover, the disproportions seem to be cumulative, so that as the school term advances -- or the school years follow one another --

the children who were relatively slow become even slower. Morevoer, as anyone familiar with Indians has observed, slowness of speed does not reflect slowness of thought or of learning, but may rather be the deliberateness of someone who takes seriously an unfamiliar task and wishes to make certain that it is performed to a high level of precision. Such children are thoroughly frustrated by the short time schedules which have been imposed on the basis of a theory of a brief span of childhood attention. Thus, regardless of what the teacher does, short of abandoning the whole system of scheduling, he is bound to be unsuccessful if he attempts to keep all children busy with school tasks.

Watching an exceptionally well organized classroom -- children busy, classroom neat and attractive, minimum disorder -- the fieldworker (Robert Wandruff) reflected as follows:

> Because of the orderliness of this class, I catch another thing that bothers me: this is the whole business of rhythm and scheduling. Those rigidly structured routines with sharply timed breaks between activities disturb me. It is almost always the slowest students who end up working frantically to finish their lessons and yet get cut off as the time runs out. These slower ones are usually also among the marginal participants in any case.

And, as he pointed out, the teacher has only two courses open: either to tell the child, "You go ahead alone and finish, while we go on to this other project"; or, to bring the child up short on the uncompleted task. In the first case, the child must be made acutely aware of his inability to keep pace with his peers and of his being left out of their activities; while, in the second case, he suffers repeatedly from that failure to complete tasks which, as psychologists have amply demonstrated, leads to neurotic symptomology. There is a third choice for the teacher, namely to delay the termination of the lesson in question, but in that case he is bound to have increasing restlessness and disorder among those pupils who have completed it or gotten bored with it; and, in addition, he must also fear the consequences before educational authority of not having maintained a satisfactory schedule of the required activities. To this dilemma, even experienced teachers at Crood have no resolution; they are simply more skillful at maintaining order throughout the day.

Discipline as an Ideology

Wherever teachers congregate, the topic of "discipline" is discussed. Whenever a teacher confronts a new class, the initial interaction is largely devoted to asserting a set of rules of institutional conduct and establishing a modus vivendi in relationship to those rules. Given the high turnovers of pupils and teachers, much time at schools like Crood is devoted to asserting rules and establishing patterns of order.

Shocked (Becker 1952b) by what they experience in their first weeks at Crood, teachers respond by redefining their educational role.3 They think less of transmitting technical skills, such as arithmetic, and more of preaching moral codes; if we wish to put role names to these transitions, we might say that with experience, many teachers shift toward becoming Reformers, Disciplinarians, Preachers, or Referees. Corresponding to their situation and role, they embrace an ideology which asserts that "the cause" of "the immoral behavior" of their pupils is a lack of "discipline" in their homes. This means that "the real job" of a school such as Crood is "to teach them right from wrong" and so to combat the pernicious influence of the home environment. Accordingly, discipline, which might otherwise be viewed as ancillary -- a set of norms that comfortably allow the group to proceed with its tasks -- becomes instead the essential or moral imperative. Regardless of whether or not their pupils are learning, such teachers derive a moral satisfaction from a classroom that is "orderly" in the sense that the children are regimented, quiet, docile (cf. Herndon 1965).[4]

The more skillful teachers appear to devote little or none of their energy to the task of maintaining discipline, but rather seem to focus on the subject matter, while the class appears to impose on itself an order of its own making, assisted by the smallest of interjections by the teacher. Conversely, the less skillful of the teachers spend most of their energies trying to establish an order that seems all the more to elude them, as the class moves even further along its own social momentum and there is ever less focus on the educational curriculum. It seems plausible that this teaching skill is related (a) to a general competence both in the subject matter and in the technique of presentation and (b) to a social sensibility (or perceptiveness) of the relationships within the class and the situation of the classroom. From the limited data at our disposal -- a few schools observed by two researchers for a few months -- it is difficult to determine which is cause and which effect: is the teacher of lower competence and sensibility thereby more prone to be preoccupied with the moral qualities of "discipline"; or, conversely, does preoccupation with discipline as a moral duty serve to diminish the sensibility of the teacher and reduce his level of competence? Be the causal relationship as it may, the relationships observed were of the following nature: the greater the competence and social sensibility of the teacher, the fewer his problems with discipline, the less the likelihood that the matter of discipline would assume a moral quality, the greater the time devoted to subject matter during the class hours, the less the time devoted to organizing activities, and the more pleasant and relaxed the classroom atmosphere. Of course, it is much easier to assert the foregoing propositions as logically interconnected than it is to establish them in empirical fact. The diary maintained by the fieldworker shows that he was struck repeatedly by these phenomena and especially by the differences between classrooms which were focussed on subject matters and those where the teacher seemed preoccupied with the maintaining of order. In the same way, there were the teachers whose concentration on rules of procedure made them seem indifferent or even hostile to the intellectual curiosity or achievements of their pupils. In the earliest grades the disciplinary attitude emerged most clearly to the observer, as the teacher handled the kids as if they were sacks of flour in a warehouse, not explaining the activity but continually occupied with arranging them into proper places for activities that were seldom consummated.

Reflecting upon the school as a minature system of civil government (or in Weber's terms a system of domination), we are forced to inquire whether the multiplication of rules does not serve to create student criminals and to justify a complex apparatus of rule enforcement (Erikson 1962, 1966; Dentler and Erikson 1959). Thus, the whole apparatus of lavatory passes, marching in the halls, absence excuses, rules for the handling of books and school property, hierarchies of disciplinary procedure, becomes not a device whereby educators and pupils can organize themselves for effective work together, but a mechanism of authoritarian social control that serves to divide children into those who are "good" and those who are "bad" or criminal. Just as the "moral enterprise" of the federal narcotics bureau (Dickson 1968) has served to create a class of criminals (consumers of narcotics, marijuana, and drugs), so a similar procedure may be operative within the miniature kingdom of the school.

The Apostle of Discipline

Whatever else a principal of a lower-class school is supposed to do, disciplining students is seen as a major part of his role. At Crood, the principal was liked and respected by his teachers and was considered competent, industrious, and responsible. Much of his time and effort was devoted to chasing truants, uncovering thieves, punishing the pupils who were defined as really troublesome, and handling the parents who irately complained of the maltreatment of their children (including his beatings). He endorsed corporal punishment and had frequent recourse to it -- as did many of his teachers. In his zeal to apprehend thieves, he would be liable suddenly to appear in a classroom and proceed to search the entire body of children, checking their clothing, personal belongings, and even, in one case, making the children remove their shoes and socks. These he must have regarded as routine activities, for his most dedicated efforts were expended on such ceremonial events as the Easter Program and the annual nationwide, "Good Citizenship" contest. During the period of intensive observation of Crood, he was especially intent on the "Good Citizenship" contest and hopeful of winning it. The observations of the field researcher communicate the flavor:

> The "Citizenship Assembly" began with the principal calling for four children who, so far this

semester, have been appointed "citizen of the week" in the "citizen of the year" contest held annually at the school. As the selectmen scuffled up to the front of the room to stand nervously before their peers, Mr. P launched into a lengthy speech about them: they were not just ordinary good kids; they were "good citizens"; exemplary people. And, what was "exemplary"? Well, scholarship was only a "teeny part" of what a good citizen is. There's more: "A good citizen would *never* -- he wouldn't *even think* of crossing Trafficked Avenue without a school guard there. And, a good citizen must be obedient. He must be obedient to all the rules. A good citizen would *never* (a warning finger gestured) jump off the ledge on the playground... He would *never* run up and down stairs. He would never cheat at foursquare or kickball. A good citizen obeys all the rules. He is trustworthy. When he gives his word to a teacher to do something, he does it. And he *obeys* the teacher. A good citizen always tells the *truth*, even though it's going to hurt him. He'll tell the truth even though he'll know he'll get a spanking for it. And a good citizen would *never* talk back to a patrol (boy). He would *never* cross anywhere -- Trafficked Avenue, Racetrack Drive, or anywhere -- without a school guard there."

These enjoinders developed into a lecture on good citizenship and its value in leading to a better and more harmonious life. The lecture was interspersed with nodding glances toward the teachers and comments like, "Isn't that right, Miss. D?" "Yep!" she'd respond.

There followed a movie, Let's Play Fair, which had obviously been shot in the 1930's with late 1930's parents, house, children, toys, and clothes. The soundtrack and camera work betrayed their age, and the film copy its history of scratchings, breakings, and splicings. The narrative is of a child who disobeys his parents and plays with a chemistry set belonging to his older brother. He breaks the set, and his guilt is exposed because his hand has been stained with chemical ink. He must compensate for his deed by using the money he had been saving for marbles in order to purchase a new chemistry set for his brother.

Explaining to the fieldworker his choice of Let's Play Fair for viewing at the Citizenship Assembly, Mr. P remarked that at Crood they have a good deal of trouble with rule-following because "the kids come from homes where they are allowed to do pretty near anything they want. So, we have to sit on them pretty sternly sometimes." Their acquiesence to being so sat upon is what Mr. P has defined as "good citizenship" and the crucial symbols or test events for this state of grace are a series of acts -- not jumping off the ledge, not crossing the streets without assistance, not lying, etc. -- so diverse that they have a ritualistic character.[5]

The foregoing has presented the principal in a situation which he was able to plan and control. More common are situations for which he cannot exactly plan since they are triggered by student actions in defiance of the institutional rules. In this sense, the principal's routine is composed of the teachers' crises, and here it becomes evident that the ideology of Good Citizenship now sustains him as he wishes that it would influence the culprits. Just four days after the assembly described above, the following incident was recorded by the field researcher. Someone had stolen twenty-five dollars by crawling through a window during lunchtime and somehow getting at the purse which a teacher had locked within her steel cabinet. The researcher was approaching the school when he met the principal, "steaming across the playground in the same general direction":

> He was searching for the culprit by grilling all of the known thieves he has had trouble with at the school. This last boy seemed to know who it was and described a junior high schooler from a few blocks away. Thumbing back over his shoulder at the boy, Mr. P said, "The police have been up here several times about this boy's purse snatching." He shook his head in despair, "I get so frustrated!" Clinching fists and teeth, he lamented, "I just can't teach them. They seem to have a different philosophy of life that just won't let you teach them right from wrong."
>
> He related a story about a girl that the police had brought back to the school after catching her engaged in stealing toys.

> The girl was disturbed about getting caught but showed no remorse about stealing. She said she didn't understand what the big deal was about, because she stole groceries all the time (and even from the same store) when her mother told her to. Shaking his head, and clinching his jaw, Mr. P expanded his previous remarks: "I just don't know what to do...What can a teacher do to teach these kids right from wrong: That's really our job here, you know, and we just can't do anything about it. That's really my weakness!"

Student Rebels

It is readily observable that in a school like Crood there is a small but distinct group of children who have rejected the institutional ideologies and who continually concoct the disciplinary crises which agitate the educators and consume most of the efforts of the principal. It sometimes appeared as if it was the continued confrontation between this small minority of pupils and the educators which served to establish the demeanour of these latter and to cause them to focus so much of the efforts of the entire school program upon moral lessons.[6] In this sense the tenor of the school emerges from the counterpoint of educational disciplinarians and student rebels, while the large majority of pupils continue passively to perform their parts, led by a shrill obligato of moral exhortations, which they scarcely require, and lacking the solid accompaniment of the technical guidance that might conceivably be of assistance to them in their vocational futures. Meantime, the rebels have clearly learned to disregard these exhortations and have evolved a strong peer society with its own set of moral norms, highly oriented about challenging officious authority. Since the efforts of the field researchers were not oriented toward studying the rebel group, they only appear in their fieldnotes as either they arouse the ire of the educators who are then stimulated to comment on them or as they influence the "straight" kids by manipulating the institutional rules. Early in the course of his investigations, the fieldworker noted:

> We can put together a list of names as candidates for "Dummyville". These kids seem to band together in their mischief. The [illegible] of these troublemakers are constantly on the lips of teachers. They are all upperclassmen, do not participate in any of the programs or citizenship contests, and are the most aggressive, most athletic, and have the most to do with the girls of similar age in the corresponding feminine Dummyville.

A few weeks later, observing the physical education class of the sixth grade:

> The class "hotdogs" had shaken out a system for giving away the leader whenever one of their number was chosen to be on the spot. These kids then backed out of the rules of the game by fixing their eyes on the leader, and the individual who was on the spot had only to follow their gaze to identify the leader.

X.Y. was thus assisted by his chums and was consistently right for his three turns. It is significant that, whenever they feel that the prowess of one of their members is at stake, they unite to boost him. Certainly this camaraderie assists them in being the class -- and the school -- hotdogs.

I also notice that, in spite of the fact that they all come from families as financially pressured as any in the school, these boys are each immaculately dressed and in what appears to be new clothes of the latest fad -- mod styles. It's a puzzle as to where they get the money for such frills as tightfitting striped pants, wide belts, flowered shirts with contrasting collars, etc.

Indians as Pupils

In our study of Crood Elementary, a major focus was upon the ten per cent or so of the pupils who were identifiably Indian. We wished to learn how they performed in school, what the teachers thought of them, and, generally, how they lived and learned. In the observations of classrooms, little emerged to suggest significant differences between the Indian and the other pupils. It did appear -- and this is supported by other sources -- that in the early grades, the Indian pupils are among the top performers, and that until about the fifth or sixth grade the Indians generally perform as well as the children of other ethnicities. Moreover, it was generally true in these early grade levels that the Indians were quieter and presented fewer problems of discipline.

The foregoing observations received confirmation in the conversations with teachers:

> Lunch in the faculty lounge... "Indian children are shy, have to be drawn out, but do as well as other children." The art teacher thinks Indian children are "more creative in design than the other races." Mrs. C (later observed as particularly incompetent in the classroom), "All Indian students are lazy."

Generally, in the interviews teachers remarked on few differences among students according to their ethnicities, and their comments about Indians were much as excerpted above. A representative set of responses to the interview questions come from the physical education teacher:

> I grew up in Gore. I grew up with Indians; we went around together. I think they're generally more shy, not backward, shy. They don't generally dominate a situation. When an Indian does, he's really sharp. Some of my best athletes have been Indian kids, but you have to push them. They start backing off about the 5th or 6th grade -- Negroes, too.
>
> WHY DO YOU THINK THIS HAPPENS?
>
> You've got me stumped there... I think that by that age they become aware they're in a minority and they lack the support they need to go on their own...
>
> Their shyness makes them generally less of a discipline problem. The White kids are more domineering; they're more of a discipline problem. They make something of themselves -- either a criminal or a president -- but they make something of themselves.

Another teacher, in agreeing that Indians seem to lose interest as they advance in school, (cf. Wax, Wax & Dumont 1964: Chap. 6) referred to a student who had been at Crood:

> He did so well when he was here. He was spelling champ one year, and I think he was citizen of the week. He made straight A's. He is a very capable boy. Then he went to junior high and I don't know what happened! He's flunking his classes and is getting into all kinds of trouble!

Even without specific questioning teachers would volunteer that "There isn't any discrimination against Indians in Oklahoma, at least not like other states". Some became upset at the slightest insinuation that perhaps Indians were generally not treated as fairly as Whites in such areas as employment. And, in general, as we shall discuss further below, they operate on a premise of radical individualism, namely that what an individual is and what he accomplishes are the product of his individual self as it was nurtured in a particular individual home.

Teachers and Pupils

Among the most striking features of the conversations and interviews with the educators at Crood Elementary, were the consistency and persistency with which there was placed upon the homes of the pupils the responsibility for the poverty of their scholastic performance and the immorality of their behavior. Yet at the same time, this assessment of blame was combined with a high degree of social isolation of the educator from these homes. Teachers never visited homes and scarcely ever conversed with parents. One teacher who had been at the school for several years stated that he would not recognize ninety-five per cent of the parents if he saw them. Much of this isolation is deliberate on the part of the teachers and the educational bureaucracy; they prefer not to deal with the parents or to deal with them only in a tightly defined situation on a restricted subject matter. But, even if there were the desire, the sheer mechanics of constructing such an interaction between parents and educators would in the present environment be difficult. Given the mobility of both the parents and the teachers, it would be difficult to establish any sort of social relationships between the two. Indeed, the field researchers experienced great difficulties in locating the parents of Indian pupils and in arranging with them for conversations or interviews. However, from the viewpoint of the teachers, the responsibility for initiating an interaction is squarely upon the parents. In effect they argue that the child does poorly because the parents don't care, and it is self-evident that the parents don't care because they never appear at conferences nor at PTA meetings. Morevoer, they find their accusation confirmed by the fact that it is the child of parents that do come to school and attend PTA meetings who does in fact secure the best grades and receive the most recognition from the school administration.

Thus, the educator, who as we have noted, is himself in a difficult plight, - responds by engaging in a variety of assaults upon the psyches of his pupils. They are condemned as being immoral and unteachable, and in addition they are told that the fault for their condition lies with their parents and kindred. Instead of technical training which might assist them in occupational or scholastic mobility, they are subjected to a variety of moral exhortations whose latent meaning is that true morality lies in uncritical obedience to the educators and the educational institution. Under the circumstances, it is legitimate to inquire how it is that these children manage to survive their educational experience with any scholastic competence or personal integrity. Of course, some do not survive within the school: they drop out. Others -- the hotdogs -- convert the educational institution into an arena for games whose goal is to provoke and challenge authority whithout exposing oneself to excessive retaliatory damage. Many children are less bold and engage in minor games: passing notes, parading to the pencil sharpener or to the teacher's desk, or sauntering past the windows to observe the outer world. These innocent diversions relieve boredom and contribute to survival in the classrooms dominated by incompetent teachers. Then, and especially for Indians, there are the more passive games involving silence and persistent withdrawal and nonparticipation so that authority is resisted without being provoked or overtly challenged.

Moreover, some children and some teachers do hit it off with each other, and in these primary and intermediate grades some children do find the psychic resources to learn despite the assaults and abuse of the school. Many of these early successes will come to grief later; the reorientation away from scholastic achievement in the fifth and sixth grades has been referred to above. The social dynamics of either the early success or the later reorientation is poorly understood, and it is hardly necessary to add that the interpretation by the educators themselves is completely beside the point. For, if children are positively oriented toward scholastic achievement until the onset of puberty and then begin to turn away from it, this could be simply rephrased as saying that, as long as the children have their strongest social linkages to their natal families they remain interested in school, but that when their affiliations to their peers and to the opposite sex begin to override the domestic influences, then they turn away. Thus, the conclusion of the foregoing discussion would be that as long as the child is preadolescent the home protects the school while it is the school that drives the adolescent child away.

Conclusions

Because of our interest in what happens to Indian children in the urban environment, we have been led into a description of the dynamics of a lower-class school. We emphasize the word "dynamics" because it is not one feature alone -- e.g. the low level of funding, or the high turnover of pupils -- which leads to the low levels of achievement characteristic of these schools; nor is it -- despite the belief of the educators -- the nature of the domestic existence of the pupils. Rather, it is the interconnection among these items: thus, the low level of funding would make much less difference if the educators could utilize the social, cultural, and ecological resources of the local area, but instead the educators are alien to the area, frightened of its people, and tied to a curriculum and institutional structure that is imposed from without. Under these circumstances the educators find their educational task impossible, and many of them choose to leave; their departures add a high rate of teacher turnover to the characteristic dynamics of the institution. Meantime, those teachers who do remain are moved to redefine their roles so as to deemphasize technical instruction and to emphasize moral exhortation, so that within the classrooms they become disciplinarians and moralists. In the early grades a minority of the pupils -- very likely with strong encouragement from home -- do shape themselves to the wishes of the teachers and perform relatively well in the work of the classroom; however, by the fifth and sixth grades, these early bloomers begin to adopt a different orientation and withdraw from scholastic activities. Another minority begin very early to reject the norms preached by the educators and to unite together into a cohesive peer society that plays the delinquency game of flaunting school rules and irritating the educators. Meantime, the great body of pupils is in motion among various residences and schools and responds passively, traveling through the school grades, neither learning nor protesting.

Most of the educators have been trained to reason about their pupils as individuals, rather than as members of groups and societies and as participating in a distinct culture (and language) that is alien, at least in part, to their own, they see them as individuals who are deficient -- intellectually and morally. This justifies the teachers in their conceptions of their own roles and their notions of proper curricula, while it insulates them from personal contact with the pupils and their families.

NOTES

1. "Teachers find that some of their pupils act in such a way as to make themselves unacceptable in terms of the moral values centered around health and cleanliness, sex and aggression, ambition and work, and the relations of age groups... It is the 'slum' child who most deeply offends the teacher's moral sensibilities... This behavior of the lower-class child is all the more repellent to the teacher because she finds it incomprehensible; she cannot conceive that nay normal humanabeing would act in such a way" (Becker 1952b: 461-463). Becker goes on to note the anxiety that is thereby aroused, especially in the less experienced teachers.

2. "Children of the lowest group, from slum areas, are characterized (by Chicago teachers) as the most difficult group to teach successfully, lacking in interest in school, learning ability, and outside training... (These) differences between groups make it possible for the teacher to feel successful at her job only with the top group; with the other group; with the other groups she feels, in greater or lesser measure, that she has failed" (Becker 1952b: 454-455).

3. "I was afraid that if one child got out of my control the whole class would quickly follow, and I would be overwhelmed by chaos. It is the fear of all beginning teachers, and many never lose it. Instead they become rigid and brutal -- everyone must always work or pretend to work. The pretense is fine so long as the semblance of control is maintained. Thus one finds the strange phenomena in ghetto schools of classes that seem well disciplined and at work all year long performing on tests as poorly as those that have made the fear and chaos overt" (Kohl 1967:30).

4. "The subject of discipline was mentioned, and everyone grew alert...this was where you found out what was really supposed to happen... what we heard was that this (school) administration wished to concentrate on the individual, on his freedom of action, learning, growth, and development, and, at the same time, to promote an orderly and responsible group of children... In order that learning may take place (the Vice-Principal) was saying, there must first be order" (Herndon 1965: 16-17).

5. Herndon chose to believe that learning by the students was more important than maintaining his classes in the state which the school administration regarded as "order", and for his apostasy he was fired. We refer to it as "apostasy", since, as he narrates his experiences, he was most severely criticized for his lack of "belief": "It was right then that I really understood that I was being fired... (The principal) wanted me to understand that he knew I had worked hard, that I was serious about what I was doing, that my character, intelligence

and 'dedication' weren't in question. What was? It seemed a matter of ideas of order. This is a problem school, I do remember his saying. His job, and the job of the teachers, was to make it into something that was no longer a problem school. He was certain that it was possible. It is the belief in this goal that counts, he told me, He used the word belief many times" (Herndon 1965: 164-165).

6. Compare the following propositions on deviance advanced by Dentler and Erikson (1959): "Groups tend to induce, sustain, and permit deviant behavior...in the same sense that they induce other group qualities like leadership, fellowship, and so on... Deviant behavior functions in enduring groups to help maintain group equilibrium."

And, as Erikson adds in a later (1962) essay: "Deviant activities often seem to derive support from the very agencies designed to suppress them... (Within our own society) a defined portion of the population, largely drawn from young adult groups and from the lower economic classes, is stabilized in deviant roles and generally expected to remain there for indefinite periods of time."

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SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusions

Previous research has established that (1) the Tribal Cherokee were an impoverished people, and (2) they and their children had but little exposure to formal education.

Our project adds the following:

(3) Because the schooling which Tribal Cherokee receive is in the hands of educators who are ignorant of and indifferent to their language, values, and cultural traditions, and because the curriculum contains no provisions for assisting children of Tribal Cherokee Background, these pupils derive very little from their years at school. Given their background, they need a superior and carefully tailored educational program, if they are to be able to adapt themselves successfully to the modern industrialized society.

(4) Tribal Cherokee parents are desirous that their children obtain the best possible education, and they are critical of the educators for abusing their children and of the schools for failing to educate them.

(5) Because the Cherokee National government has been preempted by a wealthy and politically powerful oligarchy, unrepresentative of the Tribal Cherokee and unresponsive to their requests, and because the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs recognizes that government as the sole spokesman for the Cherokee, the Tribal Cherokee people are denied any political voice in the control of their own local affairs and have negligible influence on the school systems (whether local or federal) that serve their children.

(6) In the eyes of many of the residents (whether White or slightly Cherokee in ethnicity) of the Five County Area, the Tribal Cherokee are a socially inferior people, suitable for economic and sexual exploitation. Except as museum relics, of antique interest, the rich heritage of the Tribal Cherokee, including their languages, their ongoing customs, kinship and religious practices, are derogated. Welfare workers conspire against their kinship customs and schools scorn their culture.

(7) Researchers interested in investigating the condition of the Tribal Cherokee and reformers interested in improving their social condition and increasing their educational facilities have both been subjected to organized campaigns of slander and abuse.

(8) In urban settings, lowerclass Indian children attend schools characterized by (a) high rates of turnover both among pupils and teachers, and (b) inadequate facilities. Again, here is an educational situation where pupils need a superior and carefully tailored educational situation, if they are to adapt themselves successfully to modern industrialized society, but where instead they receive the worst efforts of the school system.

Recommendations

A. The recommendations in this section concern rural communities of Cherokee in which the native language is maintained as the primary language within the household and the primary language of religious and ceremonial activity. Corresponding recommendations would apply to other Indian Communities elsewhere.

A.1. Control of elementary schools should pass to the hands of the local Tribal Cherokee communities. To facilitate this transition, elections in each community should be conducted under the auspices of the local religious or ceremonial Cherokee institution, e.g. the Cherokee Baptist Church. English and Cherokee should be the officially recognized languages of the new school boards and minutes should be kept and publicly distributed in both languages.

A.2. One of the regional laboratories funded by the U.S. Office of Education for educational research and development should be granted special funds to develop curricular materials: (a) for the teaching of English as a second language to native speakers of Cherokee; and (b) for instruction within the Cherokee language of such subjects as may seem advisable to the local Cherokee school boards, e.g. Cherokee history. The laboratory should also assist the local school boards in developing programs of training and certification for the special teachers who will be required.

A.3. A Cherokee National Educational Council should be formed composed of delegates from the local Cherokee school boards (A.1.). This Council should assume control of all monies affecting the education of Cherokee children in the Five County Region, and its control should encompass as well the funds allocated under the Johnson-O'Malley Act.

A.4. The Cherokee National Educational Council should be allocated special funds to be used: (a) to sponsor studies of the problems of Cherokee children in secondary schools (federal or public); and (b) to recommend and fund special programs accordingly.

A.5. Under the auspices of the Cherokee National Educational Council, Northeastern State College should institute programs in the following areas: a) the training of teachers in the teaching of English as a second language to Cherokee children; b) speaking and writing the Cherokee language; and c) Cherokee history, ethnohistory, traditional and modern culture.

A.6. That through the instrumentality of the professional associations listed below, the U.S. Office of Education recruit an interdisciplinary panel of social-scientists especially qualified to advise on the education of Cherokee children and adults and that the services of this panel be made available to the regional laboratory (A.2.), the newly instituted Cherokee National Educational Council, and the special program within Northeastern State College. The professional associations with especially qualified members would be the American Anthropological Association, the Society for Applied Anthropology, the Society for the Study of Social Problems, and the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues.

B. With respect to children of lowerclass Indian families in urban areas, there is a fundamental problem associated with familial mobility. As a result of this mobility it is difficult for these children and for the educational institutions which encounter them to establish satisfactory and durable relationships that allow for educational experiences. Two alternatives exist: 1) the boarding school system now operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs; 2) the public school system.

B.1. While the present boarding school system operated by the BIA has been subjected to much legitimately-based criticism, there is in principle much to be said for schools which board children who have passed the level of the intermediate grades. The major defects exist when the schools are operated as reformatories or correctional institutions designed to suppress the cultural background of the pupil and to reform the morals of his people. Unfortunately this bias has been all too conspicuous in the BIA schools. The simplest procedure for altering this bias would be to make these schools subject to the direction and guidance of committees elected from among the parents of the pupils attending the schools. While this would be a more complex procedure than may first appear, it is not insoluble.

B.2. The problem of student mobility in relationship to public schools is too undefined as yet for recommendation to be made. We need to know much more about the range and tempo of these movements. For example, if most of these movements occurred within one metropolitan school system, then an obvious solution would be to enroll these students in an appropriately located campus to which they would be transported regardless of their changes in address. If, on the other hand, these movements frequently crossed the boundaries of school systems, counties, and states, then we would have to think creatively about techniques for educating children as they migrate. This might require on the one hand ingenious uses of new media (tapes, video, etc.) and on the other hand equally ingenious techniques for motivating the pupil and his family both to maintain the pace of educational effort and to protect and utilize the educational instruments.

APPENDIX

I. PUBLICATIONS AND PRESENTATIONS

Deriving from their researches with this project and the preceding project (CRP1361) sponsored by the U.S. Office of Education, the professional staff developed journal articles, oral papers presented at annual meetings, and other types of professional contributions in the areas Indian affairs and the education of Indian Children.

The Society for Applied Anthropology, annual meeting, May 4-7, 1967. Panel: "New Directions in Research and Demonstration Schools for Indians of North America." Chairman, Murray L. Wax. Participants included: Mildred Dickeman, "The Integrity of the Cherokee Student."; Robert V. Dumont, "An Intercultural Classroom."

The American Anthropological Association, annual meeting, November 21-24, 1968. Panel: Guiding Concepts in Recent Field Work. Chairman: Harriet J. Kupferer. Paper by Murray L. Wax and Rosalie H. Wax, "The Protectors of the Poor."

"The Cherokee School Society and the Intercultural Classroom," by Robert V. Dumont and Murray L. Wax, Human Organization (tentatively scheduled to appear Fall, 1969).

"The Integrity of the Cherokee Student" by Mildred Dickeman and "Cultural Deprivation as an Educational Ideology" by Murray L. Wax are acheduled to appear in The Culture of Poverty: A Critique, edited by Eleanor Leacock, to be published by Simon and Schuster. The essay by Dickeman is a condensed version of that appearing in this report. The essay by M. Wax is revised from an earlier essay based on fieldwork among the Oglala Sioux and published in the Journal of American Indian Education, III, 2 (Jan., 1964), 15-18; the revised essay incorporates materials from the present project.

"The White Man's Burdensome 'Business': A review essay on the change and constancy of literature on the American Indians," by Murray L. Wax, Social Problems, XVI, 1 (Summer, 1968), 106-113.

"Cherokee Children and the Teacher," by Robert V. Dumont, Jr., Social Education, XXXIII, 1 (Jan., 1969), 70-72.

"The Quality of Education and the Search for Tradition," by Robert V. Dumont, Jr., delivered orally at the 1967 Annual Meetings of the National Indian Youth Council (in conjunction with the 90th annual Ponca Pow-Wow), White Eagle, Oklahoma, August 24-26.

"Cherokee Families and the Schools," by Robert V. Dumont, Jr., delivered orally at the sessions on "Equality of Educational Opportunity for the Indian Pupil in Oklahoma," sponsored by the Southwest Center for Human Relations Studies together with Oklahomans for Indian Opportunity, at the University of Oklahoma, Norman, December 14, 1967.

"Great Tradition, Little Tradition, and Formal Education" by Murray and Rosalie Wax was prepared in the summer of 1966 for the "Culture of Schools" program organized by Dr. Stanley Diamond (New School for Social Research). It was delivered orally at the National Conference on Anthropology and Education, May 1968; and is now scheduled for inclusion in a reader on anthropology and the schools, edited by Stanley Diamond, Murray Wax, and Fred O. Gearing.

"The Enemies of the People" by Murray and Rosalie Wax has been published as Chapter 9, pp. 101-118, of Institutions and the Person, essays presented to Everett C. Hughes, edited by Howard S. Becker, Blanche Geer, David Riesman, and Robert S. Weiss (Chicago: Aldine, 1968).

"Poverty and Interdependency" by Murray L. Wax, presented orally at the annual meetings of the Southern Sociological Society, April, 1969, New Orleans.

APPENDIX
II. RESEARCH METHODS

Orientation

The basic methodological orientation of this research was the community study with an educational focus (exemplified by Hollingshead, 1949; Wylie, 1964; Wolcott, 1967; Wax, Wax, and Dumont, 1964; Singleton, 1967; see also the theoretical literature on community study technique by Redfield, 1955; Arensberg, 1961; Vidich, Bensman, and Stein, 1964). Taking a leaf from the classical study by Redfield (1941) of Yucatan, the notion was to study the interrelationship of Cherokee and schools in three settings that were successive points on an axis bringing the folk people ever more closely into contact with the larger society, namely, (1) a rural and relatively isolated community of Tribal Cherokee, (2) an enclave of Cherokee within a town of the region where they are most highly concentrated, and (3) an enclave of Indians (including Cherokee) within a nearby metropolis. Given the resources of the project and the time schedule, it was unlikely that more than pilot studies of this sort could be conducted, but we felt that three such interrelated projects would provide valuable illumination on the problems which peoples encounter with school systems as they move from isolated folklike situations into the urban labor force. Overall, the project has been in our own estimation an emphatic success, since, as the materials of this report exhibit, it has exposed the social dynamics which (a) result in low levels of achievement by Cherokee children within the schools, (b) render difficult any more detailed investigation of the situation of the Tribal Cherokee, and (c) differentiate the problems of Cherokee children within the rural schools from those in more urbanized locations.

Fieldwork Problems

Since a lengthy manuscript is in preparation detailing the fieldwork experiences of this project, and since such details would not add to the value of this report for educational policy and planning, a very summary discussion is here included.

Basically, the problems faced by any attempt at conducting community type studies focussing upon the Tribal Cherokee of northeastern Oklahoma are as follows. The Tribal Cherokee are spread over five counties as a loosely linked cluster of distinct local communities. Since they have been mulcted of their properties by Whites and "Mixedblood" Cherokees, and since they are continually victimized and their rights disregarded by local persons in authority, they have a profound distrust of persons outside their local tribal community. The use of the Cherokee language serves to further demarcate the fellow Cherokee from the outsider who threatens. While they are forced into relationships with personnel of the county governments, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the various committees of the federally recognized Tribal Government of the Cherokee Nation, nonetheless, they mistrust these people and realize that the goals of these persons are alien or hostile to their own. Hence, any fieldworker, deriving from the outside, has to spend much time and prove himself repeatedly in order to pass the linguistic, social, and cultural barriers surrounding local Tribal Cherokee communities. The six months which Dr. Mildred Dickeman was able to devote to the task was inadequate for an anthropologically thorough job of understanding the culture and attitudes of the community where she resided. On the other hand, considering the mythologies perpetrated within the region about the Tribal Cherokee, and considering how little accurate research has been done, her achievement -- as that of her associates such as Dumont -- is significant and praiseworthy.

As is evident from the narrative of the field experiences of this project, a number of agencies active in the Five County Region have a vested interest in administering and manipulating the Tribal Cherokee (see Introduction, Part I). The outstanding such agency is the Tribal Government, as personified by the Principal Chief and the tribal attorney. These men have been authorized to speak for the Tribal Cherokee and to handle the assets of the Cherokee Nation, but they have been free from any process of accounting for their stewardship: There is no electoral process, and no public process of fiscal review of their handlings of Cherokee assets. Emanating from the circles about the Government and the other agencies of the region, there came a steady campaign of villification and even terrorization directed both at the Carnegie Cross-cultural Educational Project and the KU Project. It is to be expected that any other research project directed at investigating honestly the conditions of the Tribal Cherokee and of the educational problems of their children would encounter similar harassment.

In addition, it should be pointed out that the operation of schools serving Indian children has become a minor enterprise in rural Oklahoma. Those who control the school derive funds from the federal government via the Johnson-O'Malley and kindred Acts. The Indian clientele which is served by the school is politically impotent and so unable to inspect its operations or exert significant pressures if they judge these operations as inadequate or, as occasionally happens, fraudulent.

(cf. testimony by Mildred Ballenger, Andrew Dreadfulwater, and Hiner Doublehead in U.S. Senate Subcommitee on Indian Education 1969). Accordingly, outside investigators who come to study the quality of education which is offered to Indian children, or the problems of those children in utilizing that education, are in many quarters regarded as highly unwelcome visitors. In a number of areas, personnel of this project were denied admission to schools or opportunities to examine records, and it is significant that from the viewpoint of the Tribal Cherokee these were exactly the governmental institutions and schools that were most notorious for their inadequate treatment of Indians and their children.

Project Activities

In February 1966, Dr. Mildred Dickeman moved from Lawrence to northeastern Oklahoma, and, after a few weeks of general investigation of the region, she settled in the midst of a Tribal Cherokee community whose children were served by a two room school. Until she was expelled from that community by local authorities in June, she devoted herself to the following: observing interactions within the school classrooms; learning to speak the Cherokee language; attending religious, ceremonial, social, and political gatherings of the Tribal Cherokee; training research assistants and with them interviewing Cherokee adults concerning schools and the education of their children.

In March, Drs. Murray and Rosalie Wax moved from Lawrence to Tahlequah and there established project headquarters. Assisted then by Clyde and Della Warrior and by Kathryn RedCorn, they began to study the Cherokee of the neighboring area and their relationship to schools and other institutions. As a consequence of the decisions made in June by the Inter-Tribal Council of the Five Civilized Tribes, these activities of the Waxes became difficult to sustain, and they moved their headquarters to Lawrence where they devoted themselves to analyzing the data so far obtained and to the general direction of the project, leaving the Tahlequah staff to the guidance of Mildred Dickeman.

In September the project staff was enlarged by Robert V. Dumont and Robert Wandruff. Working in cooperation with Dickeman, RedCorn, and the Warriors, Robert Dumont visited a number of schools and observed the conduct of Tribal Cherokee children in the classrooms. Meanwhile, Wandruff, accompanied by his wife, Susan, surveyed such neighboring cities as Wichita, Kansas and finally settled upon Tulsa as the focus of his study of children of lowerclass Indian families in urban schools. In the midst of these activities the project had to undergo a site visit by a specially chosen team selected by the U.S. Office of Education. While such a visit was no more than might be reasonable for a project of this sort, the situation was made stressful because clearly the visitation had been provoked by the villification campaign of the Inter Tribal Council of the Five Civilized Tribes, as stimulated by the Tribal Government of the Cherokee Nation (see, for example, articles in Muskogee and Tulsa press, during this time period).

The site visit led to a sort of truce between the KU Project and the Cherokee Tribal Government. The informal terms were that (1) the Project agreed to cease all fieldwork in eastern Oklahoma by January 31, 1967, (2) the KU Project be receptive to working with the Tribal Government even to the point of hiring as an employee someone associated with that Government, and (3) Project staff be even more scrupulous about refraining from involving themselves with the political factionalism of the Five County Region. Since Clyde Warrior was President and Robert V. Dumont a high official of the National Indian Youth Council and since that organization was active in Indian affairs and very critical of traditional leadership, the last condition was onerous, yet, Dumont and Warrior abided quite closely by the spirit of this regulation, although they were sorely tempted in their situation, especially considering the arrogant and provocative conduct that had distinguished the leadership of the Cherokee Tribal Government.

As a consequence of the truce, Dumont and his associates were allowed to observe the classrooms of a small rural school whose principal was Harold Wade, one of the Cherokee representatives to the InterTribal Council. Working steadily in this setting, Dumont produced a remarkable series of observations of the conduct of Tribal Cherokee children in the classroom and thus laid the basis for several insightful essays.

Wandruff, however, was less successful in his attempts to perform an anthropological study of the Indian enclave in Tulsa and of its relationship to the schools. Perhaps because of the process of urban renewal and because of the migratory propensities of lowerclass Indians, he found it difficult to locate a concentrated population of Indians, and he had to settle for a school whose Indian population was but ten per cent. Locating the Indian parents involved countless hours of search and travel. At that time, the community agencies knew very little of the Indian population, and Wandruff soon found that his own knowledge, however limited, was superior to theirs. All in All, he was very dissatisfied with the results of his fieldwork, and he never processed his data. Many months later, a KU graduate student in sociology, Patrick F. Petit, became interested in the social situation of urban Indians, and, viewing Wandruff's data comparatively, he produced the essay contained in this report. Petit's analysis makes it clear, however, that the significant problems of the Indian child in the urban school have little to do with his Indianness and much to do with the socioeconomic plight of these schools and their pupils.

Several projects of potential had to be abandoned for lack of time or money, or because of the inhospitable situation in which the KU project found itself, or because of an inability of the principal investigators to supervise so many different activities as closely as was required with nonprofessional assistancce. For example, Kathryn RedCorn began intensive fieldwork among the Indian girls of Tahlequah who had dropped out or were dropping out of highschool. She observed a pattern of hanging about bars and of establishing relationships of concubinage with young Whites (often college students). The Indian girls, and even their mothers, hoped that these concubinage situations might be formalized as marriages and meantime, in their poverty, they welcomed whatever funds they could extract from their White partners. As a young woman of considerable sensibility, and yet lacking the training of a professional social scientist, Miss RedCorn found this process personally very demanding to observe so closely, and the subproject had eventually to be abandoned. It would be a considerable understatement to say that for these Indian girls the highschool does not meet their needs and aspirations; and, having no employment to look forward to, even if they should earn a highschool diploma, these girls pursue the only avenue they can for economic support and the possibility of social mobility.

Another subproject which had to be abandoned was an attempt to utilize school rosters in order to determine precisely the ages and grades of dropping out and transferring of a cohort of Cherokee pupils. Paul Wiebe, a graduate student of KU, and Hiner Doublehead of Stilwell, Oklahoma, worked briefly on this subproject, which involved trying to track in the school files each student in the cohort and what he had done. Some data were gathered, but it became apparent that such a project would involve more resources and planning than we could then afford.

Finally, it should be mentioned that the KU Project offered to work cooperatively with the Muskogee Area Office of the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs in the conducting of a survey of the educational and social situation of the Tribal Cherokee. But after some initially favorable conversations, leading to a week's careful work by M. Wax designing a questionnaire schedule and other materials, the Area officials withdrew from negotiations. From their comments at the time and from the subsequent quality of their actions, it was evident that they were responding to the pressure of the Tribal Government. The absence of precise and reliable survey data about the Tribal Cherokee handicaps both those who would conduct specialized research, such as the KU Project, and those who would plan for the needs of those people.

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FAMILY QUESTIONNAIRE

DATE:

1. What are the names of the parents and of other adults living in the house? Ages?
2. Where did each parent go to school, and for how many years?
3. How do the parents make a living: What other jobs have they had before?
4. Is there any kind of a trade they know, or training they have, that they are not using on their jobs? What training wasted?
5. Is there anyone who belongs to their family but who is living someplace else, in the Army, or in a city?
6. What are the names of the children in the family and their ages?
7. What grades are they in school and what school do they go to?
8. Do the children tell you what they like about school?
9. What do they dislike about school? (Why did they drop out?)
10. Do they ever talk about having trouble with any subject, or with a teacher, or with other children at school?
11. Do the children have a favorite subject? Why?
12. Do the children have a favorite teacher? Why? What do they like about him or her?
13. Have the children been punished or whipped by the teacher? (Have they ever been held back a year?) First year?
14. Do the children bring home homework to do at home? Do they bring home any other books to read?
15. How many years of schooling would the parents like to see their children go?
16. What is the main reason a person should get an education?
17. Do you think schools have improved since you went to school? How?
18. Do you think there is something that could be done to make the schools better now? What?
19. Why do you think some children quit school before they finish?
20. Do you speak Cherokee in the home? Listen to the Cherokee radio program?
21. Do the parents read Cherokee? (What do they read in Cherokee?)
22. Do the parents read anything in English? (What?)
23. Did the children know any English when they went to school?
24. Does the family go to any school events, like graduation (or adult education?)
25. Does the family vote in school board elections? Do they know the school board members? Has the family ever gone to a school board meeting?
26. Would the parents like to see more of the teachers, or see more of what goes on in the classroom?
27. Anything else you think we ought to know, in order to understand the schools around us?

UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS EDUCATIONAL SURVEY
STUDENT QUESTIONNAIRE (Rev. RFW 5/67)

Write you name here. ____________________

1. How long have you been at ________school? ____________

2. How many schools have you gone to? ____________

3. What is school? ____________________

4. What does your family tell you about school? ____________

5. What would you like to do in school that you can't do now?

6. What are some of the things your teacher makes you do that you don't like? ____________________

7. If you could be teacher in your class, what would be some of the things you would do? ____________________

8. What do you do when the teacher says something that you don't understand? ____________________

9. If someone in your class is called on to answer a question and he doesn't know the answer, but you do, what do you do?

____

____

10. What are some of the things that kids do in school that the teacher doesn't like? ______________________________

____

____

What happens then? ______________________________

____

11. What are some of the things that kids do in school that the teacher likes? ______________________________

____

____

What happens then? ______________________________

____

12. If you were going to give a report in class, and you had the choice of working with four other people or by yourself, would you rather work by yourself or with a group of people?

____

____

Why? ______________________________________

____

____

13. Does school teach you anything about how to act towards other people? ______________________________

____

What does it teach you? ______________________________

____

14. What do you want to do when you finish school? __________

____

____

Will school help you do that? ______________________________

____

15. If you could quit school, would you do it? __________

____

Is there anything you would miss? ______________________________

____

What? ______________________________

____

____

FINISH THESE SENTENCES ANY WAY THAT YOU FEEL IS RIGHT FOR YOU

YOU MAY WRITE ANYTHING YOU WISH

A. In the classroom, I am usually ______________________________

____

B. Most teachers ____

____

C. The worst thing about school _______________________________

____

D. When I need help I can usually turn to ______________________

____

E. The nicest thing about school ______________________________

____

F. What I hate most around here _______________________________

____

G. The other kids in my grade _________________________________

____

H. I feel proud when ____

____

I. A good teacher is one ______________________________________

____

J. The kind of school I would like best _________________________

____